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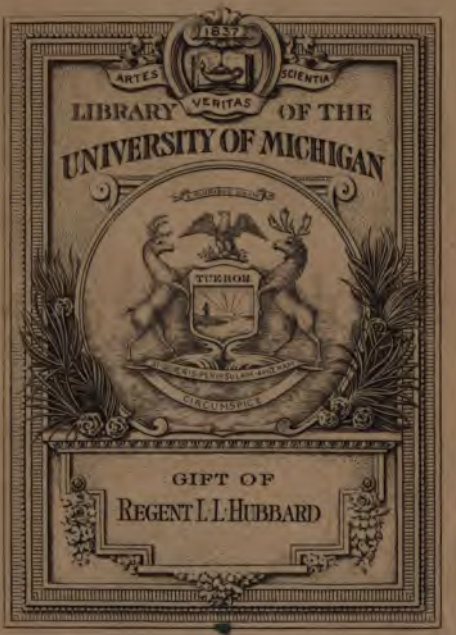
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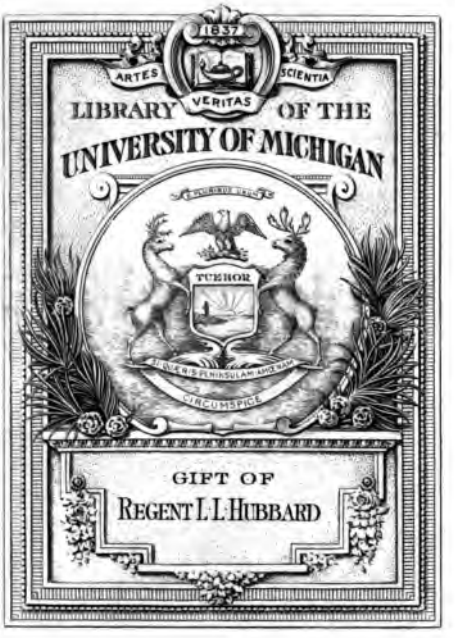
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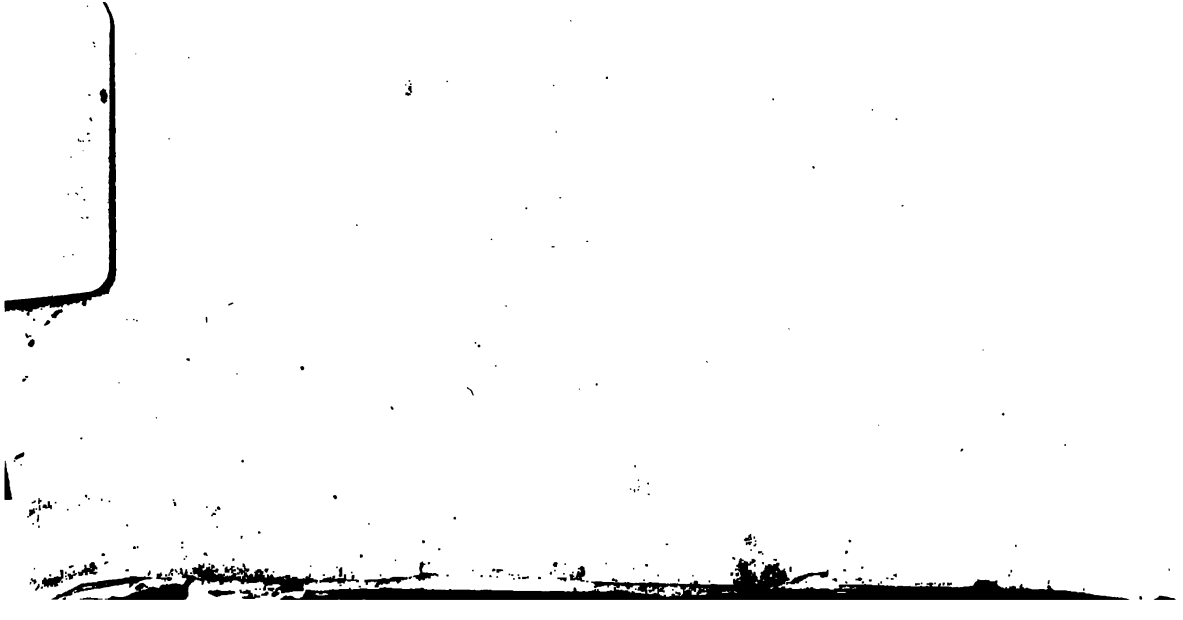

THE

WORKS

OF

Dr JONATHAN SWIFT

Dean of St PATRICK's, DUBLIN.

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The PREFACE prefixed to POPE's and SWIFT's Miſcellanies, in 4 volumes 12*mo*, 1727.

THE papers that compoſe the firſt of theſe volumes were printed about eighteen years ago, to which there are now added two or three ſmall tracts; and the verſes are transferred into the fourth volume apart, with the addition of ſuch others as we ſince have written. The ſecond and third will conſiſt of ſeveral ſmall treatiſes in proſe, in which a friend or two is concerned with us.

HAVING both of us been extremely ill treated by ſome bookſellers, eſpecially one Edmund Curll, it was our opinion, that the beſt method we could take for juſtifying ourſelves, would be to publiſh whatever looſe papers, in proſe and verſe, we have formerly written; not only ſuch as have already ſtole into the world (very much to our regret, and perhaps very little to our credit) but ſuch as in any probability hereafter may run the ſame fate; having been obtained from us by the importunity, and divulged by the indiſcretion of friends, altho' reſtrained by promiſes, which few of them are ever known to obſerve, and often think they make us a compliment in breaking.

BUT the conſequences have been ſtill worſe: we have been entitled, and have had our names prefixed at length, to whole volumes of mean productions, equally offenſive to good manners and good ſenſe, which we never ſaw nor heard of till they appeared in print.

FOR a *forgery* in ſetting a falſe name to a writing, which may prejudice another's fortune, the law puniſhes the offender with the loſs of his *ears:* but has inflicted no adequate penalty for ſuch, as prejudice another's reputation in doing the ſame thing in print; tho' all and every individual book, ſo ſold under a falſe name, are manifeſtly ſo many ſeveral and multiplied forgeries.

INDEED we hoped, that the good nature, or at leaſt the good judgment of the world, would have cleared us from the imputation of ſuch things, as had been thus

charged upon us by the malice of enemies, the want of judgment in friends, the unconcern of indifferent perſons, and the confident aſſertions of bookſellers.

We are aſhamed to find ſo ill a taſte prevail, as to make it a neceſſary work to do this juſtice to ourſelves. It is very poſſible for any author to write below himſelf; either his ſubject not proving ſo fruitful, or fitted for him, as he at firſt imagined; or his health, or his humour, or the preſent diſpoſition of his mind, unqualifying him at that juncture: however, if he poſſeſſed any diſtinguiſhing marks of ſtile, or peculiarity of thinking, there would remain in his leaſt ſucceſsful writings ſome few tokens, whereby perſons of taſte might diſcover him.

But ſince it hath otherwiſe fallen out, we think we have ſufficiently paid for our want of prudence, and determine for the future to be leſs communicative; or rather, having done with ſuch amuſements, we are reſolved to give up what we cannot fairly diſown, to the ſeverity of critics, the malice of perſonal enemies, and the indulgence of friends,

We are ſorry for the ſatire interſperſed in ſome of theſe pieces upon a few people, from whom the higheſt provocations have been received, and who, by their conduct ſince, have ſhewn, that they have not yet forgiven us the wrong they did. It is a very unlucky circumſtance, to be obliged to retaliate the injuries of ſuch authors, whoſe works are ſo ſoon forgotten, that we are in danger already of appearing the firſt aggreſſors. It is to be lamented, that Virgil let paſs a line, which told poſterity he had two enemies, called Bavius and Maevius. The wiſeſt way is not once to name them, but (as the madman adviſed the gentleman, who told him he wore a ſword to kill his enemies) *to let them alone, and they would die of themſelves.* And according to this rule we have acted throughout all thoſe writings, which we deſigned for the preſs: but, in theſe, the publication whereof was not owing to our folly, but that of others, the omiſſion of the names was not in our power. At the worſt, we can only give them that liberty now for ſomething, which they have ſo many years exerciſed for nothing, of *railing and* ſcribbling againſt us. And it is ſome commendation, that we have not done it all this while, but

avoided

avoided publicly to characterize any perſon without long experience. *Nonum prematur in annum* is a good rule for all writers, but chiefly for writers of characters; becauſe it may happen to thoſe, who vent praiſe or cenſure too precipitately, as it did to an eminent Engliſh poet, who celebrated a young nobleman for erecting Dryden's monument upon a promiſe, which his Lordſhip forgot, till it was done by another.

In regard to two perſons only we wiſh our raillery, tho' ever ſo tender, or reſentment, tho' ever ſo juſt, had not been indulged. We ſpeak of Sir John Vanbrugh, who was a man of wit, and of humour; and of Mr Addiſon, whoſe name deſerves all reſpect from every lover of learning.

We cannot deny (and perhaps moſt writers of our kind have been in the ſame circumſtances) that in ſeveral parts of our lives, and according to the diſpoſitions we were in, we have written ſome things, which we may wiſh never to have thought on. Some ſallies of levity ought to be imputed to youth, (ſuppoſed in charity, as it was in truth, to be the time in which we wrote them;) others to the gaiety of our minds at certain junctures common to all men. The publiſhing of theſe, which we cannot diſown, and without our conſent, is, I think, a greater injury, than that of aſcribing to us the moſt ſtupid productions, which we can wholly deny.

This has been uſually practiſed in other countries after a man's deceaſe; which in a great meaſure accounts for that manifeſt *inequality* found in the works of the beſt authors; the collectors only conſidering, that ſo many more ſheets raiſe the price of the book; and the greater fame a writer is in poſſeſſion of, the more of ſuch traſh he may bear to have tacked to him. Thus it is apparently the editor's intereſt to inſert what the author's judgment had rejected; and care is always taken to interſperſe theſe additions in ſuch a manner, that ſcarce any book of conſequence can be bought without purchaſing ſomething unworthy of the author along with it.

But in our own country it is ſtill worſe: thoſe very bookſellers, who have ſupported themſelves upon an author's fame while he lived, have done their utmoſt after his death to leſſen it by ſuch practices: even a man's laſt will

will is not ſecure from being expoſed in print; whereby his moſt particular regards, and even his dying tenderneſſes are laid open. It has been humorouſly ſaid, that ſome have fiſhed the very jakes for papers left there by men of wit; but it is no jeſt to affirm, that the cabinets of the ſick, and the cloſets of the dead, have been broke open and ranſacked to publiſh our *private letters*, and divulged to all mankind the moſt ſecret ſentiments and intercourſe of friendſhip. Nay, theſe fellows are arrived to that height of impudence, that when an author has publicly diſowned a ſpurious piece, they have diſputed his own name with him in printed advertiſements; which has been practiſed to Mr Congreve and Mr Prior.

WE are therefore compelled, in reſpect to truth, to ſubmit to a very great hardſhip; to own ſuch pieces, as in our ſtricter judgments we would have ſuppreſſed for ever: we are obliged to confeſs, that this whole collection, in a manner, conſiſts of what we not only thought unlikely to reach the future, but unworthy even of the *preſent* age; not our ſtudies, but our follies; not our works, but our idleneſſes.

SOME comfort however it is, that all of them are innocent, and moſt of them, ſlight as they are, had yet a moral tendency; either to ſoften the virulence of parties againſt each other; or to laugh out of countenance ſome vice or folly of the time; or to diſcredit the impoſitions of quakes and falſe pretenders to ſcience; or to humble the arrogance of the ill-natured and envious; in a word, to leſſen the *vanity*, and promote the *good humour* of mankind.

SUCH as they are, we muſt in truth confeſs, they are *ours*, and others ſhould in juſtice believe, they are *all* that are *ours*. If any thing elſe has been printed, in which we really had any hand, it is either intolerably imperfect, or loaded with ſpurious additions; ſometimes even with inſertions of mens names, which we never meant, and for whom we have an eſteem and reſpect. Even thoſe pieces, in which we are leaſt injured, have never before been printed from the true copies, or with any tolerable degree of correctneſs. We declare, that this collection contains every piece, which in the idleſt humour we have written; not only ſuch, as came under our re-

view

ning of motion, whether from the head, or the heart, or the animal ſpirits in general, the body moves and acts by a conſent of all its parts. This unlimited power, placed fundamentally in the body of a people, is what the beſt legiſlators of all ages have endeavoured, in their ſeveral ſchemes or inſtitutions of government, to depoſite in ſuch hands as would preſerve the people from rapine and oppreſſion within, as well as violence from without. Moſt of them ſeem to agree in this, that it was a truſt too great to be committed to any one man or aſſembly, and therefore they left the right ſtill in the whole body; but the adminiſtration or executive part in the hands of the *one*, the *few*, or the *many*, into which three powers all independent bodies of men ſeem naturally to divide; for by all I have read of thoſe innumerable and petty commonwealths in Italy, Greece, and Sicily, as well as the great ones of Carthage and Rome, it ſeems to me, that a free people met together, whether by *compact*, or *family government*, as ſoon as they fall into any acts of civil ſociety, do of themſelves divide into three powers. The firſt is that of ſome one eminent ſpirit, who, having ſignalized his valour and fortune in defence of his country, or by the practice of popular arts at home, comes to have great influence on the people, to grow their leader in warlike expeditions, and to preſide, after a ſort, in their civil aſſemblies; and this is grounded upon the principles of

Baron Somers of Eveſham, Firſt Lord-Keeper, afterwards Lord Chancellor; Edward Ruſſel, Earl of Oxford, Lord Treaſurer of the Navy, and one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty; and Charles Montagne, Earl of Halifax, one of the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, and afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer. Its general purport is to damp the warmth of the Commons, by ſhewing, that the meaſures they purſued had a direct tendency to bring on the tyranny, which they profeſſed to oppoſe; and the particular caſes of the impeached Lords are parallelled in Athenian characters *Hawkeſ.*

This whole treatiſe is full of hiſtorical knowledge, and excellent reflexions. It is not mixed with any improper ſallies of wit, or any light airs of humour; and, in point of ſtile and learning, is equal, if not ſuperior, to any of Swift's political works. *Orrery.*

of nature and common reaſon, which in all difficulties or dangers, where prudence or courage is required, do rather incite us to fly for counſel or aſſiſtance to a ſingle perſon, than a multitude. The ſecond natural diviſion of power is of ſuch men, who have acquired large poſſeſſions, and conſequently dependencies, or deſcend from anceſtors who have left them great inheritances, together with an hereditary authority. Theſe eaſily uniting in thoughts and opinions, and acting in concert, begin to enter upon meaſures for ſecuring their properties, which are beſt upheld by preparing againſt invaſions from abroad, and maintaining peace at home; this commences a great council or ſenate of nobles for the weighty affairs of the nation. The laſt diviſion is of the maſs or body of the people, whoſe part of power is great and indiſputable, whenever they can unite either collectively or by deputation, to exert it. Now, the three forms of government, ſo generally known in the ſchools, differ only by the civil adminiſtration being placed in the hands of one or ſometimes two, (as in Sparta) who were called *Kings*: or in a ſenate, who were called the *Nobles*; or in the people collective or repreſentative, who may be called the *Commons*. Each of theſe had frequently the executive power in Greece, and ſometimes in Rome: but the power in the laſt reſort was always meant by legiſlators to be held in balance among all three. And it will be an eternal rule in politics among every free people, that there is a balance of power to be carefully held by every ſtate within itſelf, as well as among ſeveral ſtates with each other.

THE true meaning of a balance of power, either without or within a ſtate, is beſt conceived by conſidering, what the nature of a balance is. It ſuppoſes three things: Firſt, the part which is held, together with the hand that holds it; and then the two ſcales, with whatever is weighed therein. Now, conſider ſeveral ſtates in a neighbourhood; in order to preſerve peace between theſe ſtates, it is neceſſary they ſhould be formed into a balance, whereof one or more are to be directors, who are to divide the reſt into equal ſcales, and upon occaſion remove *from* one into the other, or elſe fall with their own *weight into the* lighteſt; ſo in a ſtate within itſelf, the

balance

balance muſt be held by a third hand, who is to deal the remaining power with the utmoſt exactneſs into the ſeveral ſcales. Now, it is not neceſſary, that the power ſhould be equally divided between theſe three; for the balance may be held by the weakeſt, who, by his addreſs and conduct, removing from either ſcale, and adding of his own, may keep the ſcales duly poiſed. Such was that of the two Kings of Sparta, the conſular power in Rome, that of the Kings of Media before the reign of Cyrus, as repreſented by Xenophon; and that of the ſeveral limited ſtates in the Gothic inſtitution.

When the balance is broken, whether by the negligence, folly, or weakneſs of the hand that held it, or by mighty weights fallen into either ſcale, the power will never continue long in equal diviſion between the two remaining parties, but, till the balance is fixed anew, will run entirely into one. This gives the trueſt account of what is underſtood in the moſt antient and approved Greek authors by the word *tyranny*, which is not meant for the ſeizing of the uncontrolled or abſolute power into the hands of a ſingle perſon, (as many ſuperficial men have groſsly miſtaken,) but for the breaking of the balance by whatever hand, and leaving the power wholly in one ſcale; for *tyranny* and *uſurpation* in a ſtate are by no means confined to any number, as might eaſily appear from examples enough; and becauſe the point is material, I ſhall cite a few to prove it.

The Romans * having ſent to Athens, and the Greek cities of Italy, for the copies of the beſt laws, thoſe ten legiſlators to put them into form, and during the exerciſe of their office, ſuſpended the conſular power, leaving the adminiſtration of affairs in their hands. Theſe very men, though choſen for ſuch a work, as the digeſting a body of laws for the government of a free ſtate, did immediately uſurp arbitrary power; ran into all the forms of it, had their guards and ſpies after the practice of the tyrants of thoſe ages, affected kingly ſtate, deſtroyed the nobles, and oppreſſed the people; one of them proceeding ſo far, as to endeavour to force a lady of great virtue: the very crime, which gave occaſion to the expulſion of

the

* Dionyſ. Hal. lib. 10.

the regal power but ſixty years before, as this attempt did to that of the Decemviri.

THE Ephori in Sparta were at firſt only certain perſons deputed by the Kings to judge in civil matters, while they were employed in the wars. Theſe men, at ſeveral times, uſurped the abſolute authority, and were as cruel tyrants, as any in their age.

SOON * after the unfortunate expedition into Sicily, the Athenians choſe four hundred men for adminiſtration of affairs, who became a body of tyrants, and were called, in the language of thoſe ages, an *oligarchy*, or tyranny of the *few*; under which hateful denomination they were ſoon after depoſed in great rage by the people.

WHEN Athens † was ſubdued by Lyſander, he appointed thirty men for the adminiſtration of that city, who immediately fell into the rankeſt tyranny: but this was not all; for conceiving their power not founded on a *baſis* large enough, they admitted three thouſand into a ſhare of the government; and thus fortified, became the cruelleſt tyranny upon record. They murdered in cold blood great numbers of the beſt men, without any provocation, from the mere luſt of cruelty, like Nero or Caligula. This was ſuch a number of tyrants together as amounted to near a third part of the whole city; for Xenophon tells us ‡, that the city contained about ten thouſand houſes; and allowing one man to every houſe, who could have any ſhare in the government, (the reſt conſiſting of women, children, and ſervants) and making other obvious abatements, theſe tyrants, if they had been careful to adhere together, might have been a majority even of the people collective.

IN the time of the ſecond Punic war ||, the balance of power in Carthage was got on the ſide of the people, and this to a degree, that ſome authors reckon the government to have been then among them a *dominatio plebis*, or *tyranny of the commons*; which it ſeems they were at all times apt to fall into, and was at laſt among the cauſes, that ruined their ſtate: and the frequent murders

* Thucyd. lib. 8.
† Xenoph. de Rebus Græc. lib. 2.
‡ *Memorab.* lib. 3.
|| *Polyb.* Frag. lib. 6.

murders of their generals, which Diodorus * tells us was grown to an eſtabliſhed cuſtom among them, may be another inſtance, that tyranny is not confined to numbers.

I ſhall mention but one example more among a great number, that might be produced; it is related by the author laſt cited †. The orators of the people at Argos (whether you will ſtyle them in modern phraſe, *great ſpeakers of the houſe*; or only, in general, repreſentatives of the people collective) ſtirred up the commons againſt the nobles, of whom 1600 were murdered at once; and at laſt, the orators themſelves, becauſe they left off their accuſations, or, to ſpeak intelligibly, becauſe they *withdrew their impeachments*; having, it ſeems, raiſed a ſpirit they were not able to lay. And this laſt circumſtance, as caſes have lately ſtood, may perhaps be worth noting.

FROM what hath been already advanced, ſeveral concluſions may be drawn:

1ſt, THAT a mixed government partaking of the known forms received in the ſchools is by no means of Gothic invention, but hath place in nature and reaſon, ſeems very well to agree with the ſentiments of moſt legiſlators, and to have been followed in moſt ſtates, whether they have appeared under the name of monarchies, ariſtocracies, or democracies: for not to mention the ſeveral republics of this compoſition in Gaul and Germany, deſcribed by Cæſar and Tacitus, Polybius tells us, the beſt government is that, which conſiſts of three forms, *regno, optimatium, et populi imperio* ‡; which may be fairly tranſlated, the *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons*. Such was that of Sparta, in its primitive inſtitution by Lycurgus; who, obſerving the corruptions and depravations to which every of theſe was ſubject, compounded his ſcheme out of all; ſo that it was made up of *reges*, *ſeniores*, *et populus*. Such alſo was the ſtate of Rome under its conſuls: and the author tells us, that the Romans fell upon this model purely by chance, (which I take to have been nature and common reaſon) but the Spartans by thought and deſign. And ſuch at Carthage was the *ſumma reipublicæ* ||, or power in the laſt reſort; for they had

* *Lib.* 20.
† *Lib.* 15.
‡ Fragm. lib. 6.
|| Idem, ibid.

had their Kings called *ſuffetes*, and a Senate which had the power of *nobles*, and the people had a ſhare eſtabliſhed too.

2*dly*, IT will follow, that thoſe reaſoners, who employ ſo much of their zeal, their wit, and their leiſure for the upholding the balance of power in Chriſtendom, at the ſame time that by their practices they are endeavouring to deſtroy it at home, are not ſuch mighty patriots, or ſo much in the true intereſt of their country, as they would affect to be thought; but ſeem to be employed like a man, who pulls down with his right hand what he has been building with his left.

3*dly*, THIS makes appear the error of thoſe who think it an uncontrollable maxim, that power is always ſafer lodged in many hands than in one: for if theſe many hands be made up only from one of the three diviſions before mentioned, it is plain from thoſe examples already produced, and eaſy to be parralleled in other ages and countries, that they are as capable of enſlaving the nation, and of acting all manner of tyranny and oppreſſion, as it is poſſible for a ſingle perſon to be, tho' we ſhould ſuppoſe their number not only to be of four or five hundred, but above three thouſand.

Again, It is manifeſt from what has been ſaid, that in order to preſerve the balance in a mixed ſtate, the limits of power depoſited with each party ought to be aſcertained, and generally known. The defect of this is the cauſe, that introduces thoſe ſtrugglings in a ſtate about *prerogative* and *liberty*, about encroachments of the *few* upon the rights of the *many*, and of the *many* upon the privileges of the *few*, which ever did, and ever will conclude in a tyranny; firſt either of the *few*, or the *many*, but at laſt infallibly of a ſingle perſon: for, which ever of the three diviſions in a ſtate is upon the ſcramble for more power than its own, (as one or other of them generally is) unleſs due care be taken by the other two, upon every new queſtion that ariſes, they will be ſure to decide in favour of themſelves, talk much of inherent right; they will nouriſh up a dormant power, and reſerve privileges *in petto*, to exert upon occaſions, to ſerve expedients, and to urge upon neceſſities; they will make large demands, and ſcanty conceſſions, ever coming off conſider-

derable gainers: thus at length the balance is broke, and tyranny let in; from which door of the three it matters not.

To pretend to a *declarative* right upon any occaſion whatſoever, is little leſs than to make uſe of the whole power; that is, to declare an opinion to be law, which has always been conteſted, or perhaps never ſtarted at all before ſuch an incident brought it on the ſtage. Not to conſent to the enacting of ſuch a law, which has no view beſides the general good, unleſs another law ſhall at the ſame time paſs, with no other view but that of advancing the power of one party alone; what is this but to claim a poſitive voice, as well as a negative! To pretend that great changes † and alienations of property have created new and great dependencies, and conſequently new additions of power, as ſome reaſoners have done is a moſt dangerous tenet. If dominion muſt follow property, let it follow in the ſame place; for change in property thro' the bulk of a nation makes ſlow marches, and its due power always attends it. To conclude, that whatever attempt is begun by an aſſembly, ought to be purſued to the end, without regard to the greateſt incidents that may happen to alter the caſe: to count it mean, and below the *dignity of a houſe*, to quit a proſecution; to reſolve upon a concluſion before it is poſſible to be appriſed of the premiſes: to act thus, I ſay, is to affect not only abſolute power, but infallibility too. Yet ſuch unaccountable proceedings as theſe have popular aſſemblies engaged in, for want of fixing the due limits of *power* and *privilege*.

GREAT changes may indeed be made in a government, yet the form continue, and the balance be held: but large intervals of time muſt paſs between every ſuch innovation, enough to melt down and make it of a piece with the conſtitution. Such, we are told, were the proceedings of Solon, when he modelled anew the Athenian

† This ſeems to allude to a practice of the houſe of Commons called *Tacking*: when they ſuſpected that a favourite bill would be rejected, they tacked it to a money bill; and as it was not poſſible to [illegible] as it became neceſſary to re[illegible]gether, this expedi[illegible]

commonwealth; and what convulſions in our own, as well as other ſtates, have been bred by a neglect of this rule, is freſh and notorious enough: it is too ſoon in all conſcience to repeat this error again.

HAVING ſhewn, that there is a natural balance of power in all free ſtates, and how it hath been divided, ſometimes by the people themſelves, as in Rome, at others by the inſtitutions of the legiſlators, as in the ſeveral ſtates of Greece and Sicily; the next thing is to examine, what methods have been taken to break or overthrow this balance, which every one of the three parties hath continually endeavoured, as opportunities have ſerved; as might appear from the ſtories of moſt ages and countries: for abſolute power in a particular ſtate, is of the ſame nature with univerſal monarchy in ſeveral ſtates adjoining to each other. So endleſs and exorbitant are the deſires of men, whether conſidered in their perſons or their ſtates, that they will graſp at all, and can form no ſcheme of perfect happineſs with leſs. Ever ſince men have been united into governments, the hopes and endeavours after univerſal monarchy have been bandied among them, from the reign of Ninus to this of the Moſt Chriſtian King; in which purſuits commonwealths have had their ſhare as well as monarchs: ſo the Athenians, the Spartans, the Thebans, and the Achaians, did ſeveral times aim at the univerſal monarchy of Greece: ſo the commonwealths of Carthage and Rome affected the univerſal monarchy of the then known world. In like manner hath abſolute power been purſued by the ſeveral parties of each particular ſtate; wherein ſingle perſons have met with moſt ſucceſs, tho' the endeavours of the *few* and the *many* have been frequent enough: yet, being neither ſo uniform in their deſigns, nor ſo direct in their views, they neither could manage nor maintain the power they had got; but were ever deceived by the popularity and ambition of ſome ſingle perſon. So that it will be always a wrong ſtep in policy, for the nobles or commons to carry their endeavours after power ſo far, as to overthrow the balance; and it would be enough to damp their warmth in ſuch purſuits, if they could once reflect, *that in ſuch* a courſe they will be ſure to run upon the very rock,

rock, that they meant to avoid; which, I ſuppoſe, they would have us think, is the tyranny of a ſingle perſon.

MANY examples might be produced of the endeavours of each of theſe three rivals after abſolute power; but I ſhall ſuit my diſcourſe to the time I am writing in, and relate only ſuch diſſenſions in Greece and Rome, between the Nobles and Commons, with the conſequences of them, wherein the latter were the aggreſſors.

I ſhall begin with Greece, where my obſervations ſhall be confined to Athens, tho' ſeveral inſtances might be brought from other ſtates thereof.

CHAP. II.

Of the diſſenſions in ATHENS, *between the* few *and the* many.

THESEUS is the firſt, who is recorded with any appearance of truth to have brought the Grecians from a barbarous manner of life, among ſcattered villages, into cities; and to have eſtabliſhed the *popular ſtate* in Athens, aſſigning to himſelf the guardianſhip of the laws and chief command in war. He was forced after ſome time to leave the Athenians to their own meaſures upon account of their ſeditious temper, which ever continued with them, till the final diſſolution of their government by the Romans. It ſeems, the country about Attica was the moſt barren of any in Greece; thro' which means it happened, that the natives were never expelled by the fury of invaders, (who thought it not worth a conqueſt) but continued always Aborigines; and therefore retained thro' all revolutions a tincture of that turbulent ſpirit, wherewith their government began. This inſtitution of Theſeus appears to have been rather a ſort of mixed monarchy, than a popular ſtate, and, for aught we know, might continue ſo during the ſeries of kings till the death of Codrus. From this laſt Prince Solon was ſaid to be deſcended; who finding the people engaged in two violent factions of the poor and the rich, and in great confuſion thereupon; refuſing the monarchy, which was offered him, choſe rather to caſt the government after an-

other model, wherein he made due provisions for settling the balance of power, chusing a Senate of four hundred, and disposing the magistracies and offices according to men's estates; leaving to the multitude their votes in electing, and the power of judging certain processes by appeal. This council of four hundred was chosen, one hundred out of each tribe, and seems to have been a body representative of the people: tho' the people collective reserved a share of power to themselves. It is a point of history perplexed enough; but thus much is certain, that the balance of power was provided for; else Pisistratus, called by authors the tyrant of Athens, could never have governed so peaceably, as he did, without changing any of Solon's laws†. These several powers, together with that of the *archon* or chief magistrate, made up the form of government in Athens, at what time it began to appear upon the scene of action and story.

THE first great man bred up under this institution was Miltiades, who lived about ninety years after Solon, and is reckoned to have been the first great captain, not only of Athens, but of all Greece. From the time of Miltiades to that of Phocion, who is looked upon as the last famous General of Athens, are about 130 years: after which they were subdued and insulted by Alexander's captains, and continued under several revolutions a small truckling state, of no name or reputation, till they fell with the rest of Greece under the power of the Romans.

DURING this period from Miltiades to Phocion, I shall trace the conduct of the Athenians with relation to their dissensions between the people and some of their generals; who, at that time, by their power and credit in the army, in a warlike commonwealth, and often supported by each other, were with the magistrates and other civil officers a sort of counterpoise to the power of the people, who, since the death of Solon, had already made great encroachments. What these dissensions were, how founded, and what the consequences of them, I shall briefly and impartially relate.

I must here premise, that the Nobles in Athens were not at this time a corporate assembly, that I can gather; there-

† *Herodot.* lib. 5.

therefore the reſentments of the Commons were uſually turned againſt particular perſons, and by way of articles of impeachment. Whereas the Commons in Rome, and ſome other ſtates, as will appear in a proper place, tho' they followed this method upon occaſion, yet generally purſued the enlargement of their power by more ſet quarrels of one entire aſſembly againſt another. However, the cuſtom of particular impeachments being not limited to former ages, any more than that of general ſtruggles and diſſenſions between fixed aſſemblies of Nobles and Commons, and the ruin of Greece having been owing to the former, as that of Rome was to the latter. I ſhall treat on both expreſly; that thoſe ſtates, who are concerned in either (if at leaſt there be any ſuch now in the world) may, by obſerving the means and iſſues of former diſſenſions, learn whether the cauſes are alike in theirs; and if they find them to be ſo, may conſider whether they ought not juſtly to apprehend the ſame effects.

To ſpeak of every particular perſon impeached by the Commons of Athens, within the compaſs deſigned, would introduce the hiſtory of almoſt every great man they had among them: I ſhall therefore take notice only of ſix, who, living in that period of time when Athens was at the height of its glory, as indeed it could not be otherwiſe while ſuch hands were at the helm, tho' *impeached for high crimes and miſdemeanors*, ſuch as *bribery, arbitrary proceedings, miſapplying or embezzling public funds, ill conduct at ſea*, and the like, were honoured and lamented by their country, as the preſervers of it, and have had the veneration of all ages ſince paid juſtly to their memories.

MILTIADES was one of the Athenian generals againſt the Perſian power, and the famous victory at Marathon was chiefly owing to his valour and conduct. Being ſent ſome time after to reduce the iſland Paros, he miſtook a great fire at a diſtance for the fleet, and being no ways a match for them, ſet ſail for Athens; at his arrival he was *impeached* by the Commons for treachery, though not able to appear by reaſon of his wounds, fined 30000 crowns, and died in priſon. Tho' the conſequences of this proceeding upon the affairs of Athens were no other than

the untimely loſs of ſo great and good a man, yet I could not forbear relating it.

THEIR next great man was Ariſtides *. Beſides the mighty ſervice he had done his country in the wars, he was a perſon of the ſtricteſt juſtice, and beſt acquainted with the laws as well as forms of their government, ſo that he was in a manner Chancellor of Athens. This man, upon a ſlight and falſe accuſation of *favouring arbitrary power*, was baniſhed by *oſtraciſm*; which rendered into modern Engliſh would ſignify, that they voted *he ſhould be removed from their preſence and council for ever*. But however, they had the wit to recal him, and to that action owed the preſervation of their ſtate by his future ſervices. For it muſt be ſtill confeſſed in behalf of the Athenian people, that they never conceived themſelves perfectly infallible, nor arrived to the heights of *modern aſſemblies*, to make *obſtinacy* confirm what *ſudden heat* and *temerity* began. They thought it not below the dignity of an aſſembly to endeavour at correcting an ill ſtep; at leaſt to repent, tho' it often fell out too late.

THEMISTOCLES † was at firſt a commoner himſelf: it was he that raiſed the Athenians to their greatneſs at ſea, which he thought to be the true and conſtant intereſt of that commonwealth; and the famous naval victory over the Perſians at Salamis was owing to his conduct. It ſeems the people obſerved ſomewhat of haughtineſs in his temper and behaviour, and therefore baniſhed him for five years; but finding ſome ſlight matter of accuſation againſt him, they ſent to ſeize his perſon, and he hardly eſcaped to the Perſian court; from whence, if the love of his country had not ſurmounted its baſe ingratitude to him, he had many invitations to return at the head of the Perſian fleet, and take a terrible revenge: but he rather choſe a voluntary death.

THE

* Lord Somers. He was the general patron of the *literati*, and the particular friend of Dr Swift. *Orrery*.

† Earl of Orford. He had been conſidered in a manner as Lord High Admiral, the whole affairs of the navy having been committed to his charge. *Orrery*.

THE people of Athens impeached Pericles * for *misapplying the public revenues to his own private use.* He had been a person of great deservings from the republic, was an *admirable speaker*, and very popular. *His accounts were confused, and he could not then give them up*, therefore merely to divert that difficulty, and the consequences of it, he was forced to engage his country in the Peloponnesian war, the longest that ever was known in Greece, and which ended in the utter ruin of Athens.

THE same people, having resolved to subdue Sicily, sent a mighty fleet under the command of Nicias, Lysimachus, and Alcibiades; the two former persons of age and experience; the last, a young man of noble birth, excellent education, and a plentiful fortune. A little before the fleet set sail, it seems one night the stone images of Mercury, placed in several parts of the city, were all pared in the face: this action the Athenians interpreted for a design of destroying the popular state; and Alcibiades, having been formerly noted for the like frolicks and excursions, was immediately accused of this. He, whether conscious of his innocence, or assured of the secrecy, offered to come to his trial before he went to his command; this the Athenians refused. But as soon as he was got to Sicily, they sent for him back, designing to take the advantage, and prosecute him in the absence of his friends, and of the army, where he was very powerful.

* Lord Halifax. He had a fine genius for poetry, and had employed his more youthful part of life in that science. He was distinguished by the name of Mouse Mountague, having ridiculed, jointly with Mat. Prior, Mr Dryden's famous poem of the Hind and Panther. The parody is drawn from Horace's fable of the city mouse and country mouse. But afterwards, upon Mr Mountague's promotion to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, Prior, with a good-humoured indignation at seeing his friend preferred, and himself neglected, concludes an epistle, written in the year 1698, to Fleetwood Shepherd, Esq; with these three lines:

My friend Charles Mountagne's preferr'd,
Nor would I have it long observ'd,
That one *mouse* eats, while *t'other's* starv'd. Orrery.

powerful. It ſeems, he underſtood the reſentments of a popular aſſembly too well to truſt them; and therefore, inſtead of returning, eſcaped to Sparta; where his deſires of revenge prevailing over his love to his country, he became its greateſt enemy. Mean while the Athenians before Sicily, by the death of one commander, and the ſuperſtition, weakneſs, and perfect ill conduct of the other, were utterly deſtroyed, the whole fleet taken, and a miſerable ſlaughter made of the army, whereof hardly one ever returned. Some time after this Alcibiades was recalled upon his own conditions, by the neceſſities of the people, and made Chief Commander at ſea and land; but his Lieutenant engaging againſt his poſitive orders, and being beaten by Lyſander, Alcibiades was again diſgraced, and baniſhed. However, the Athenians having loſt all ſtrength and heart ſince their misfortune at Sicily, and now deprived of the only perſon that was able to recover their loſſes, repent of their raſhneſs, and endeavour in vain for his reſtoration; the Perſian Lieutenant, to whoſe protection he fled, making him a ſacrifice to the reſentments of Lyſander the General of the Lacedemonians, who now reduces all the dominions of the Athenians, takes the city, razes their walls, ruins their works, and changes the form of their government; which tho' again reſtored for ſome time by Thraſybulus (as their walls were rebuilt by Conon) yet here we muſt date the fall of the Athenian greatneſs; the dominion and chief power in Greece from that period to the time of Alexander the Great, which was about fifty years, being divided between the Spartans and Thebans. Tho' Philip, Alexander's father (*the Moſt Chriſtian King* of that age) had indeed ſome time before begun to break in upon the republics of Greece by conqueſt or *bribery*; particularly *dealing large money among ſome popular orators*, by which he brought many of them, as the term of art was then, to Philippize.

In the time of Alexander and his captains, the Athenians were offered an opportunity of recovering their liberty, and being reſtored to their former ſtate; but the wiſe turn they thought to give the matter, was by an impeachment and ſacrifice of the author, to hinder the ſucceſs. For, after the deſtruction of Thebes by Alexander,

der, this Prince designing the conquest of Athens was prevented by Phocion the Athenian General, then Ambassador from that state; who, by his great wisdom and skill at negotiations, diverted Alexander from his design, and restored the Athenians to his favour. The very same success he had with Antipater after Alexander's death, at which time the government was new regulated by Solon's laws: but Polyperchon, in hatred to Phocion, having by order of the young King, whose governor he was, restored those whom Phocion had banished, the plot succeeded. Phocion was accused by popular orators, and put to death.

THUS was the most powerful commonwealth of all Greece, after great degeneracies from the institution of Solon, utterly destroyed by that rash, jealous and inconstant humour of the people, which was never satisfied to see a general either *victorious* or *unfortunate*; such ill judges, as well as rewarders, have *popular assemblies* been, of those who best deserved from them.

Now, the circumstance, which makes these examples of more importance, is, that this very power of the people in Athens, claimed so confidently for an *inherent right*, and insisted on as the *undoubted privilege of an Athenian born*, was the rankest incroachment imaginable, and the grossest degeneracy from the form that Solon left them. In short, their government was grown into a *dominatio plebis*, or *tyranny of the people*, who, by degrees, had broke and overthrown the balance, which that legislator had very well fixed and provided for. This appears not only from what has been already said of that lawgiver, but more manifestly from a passage in Diodorus; who tells us †, 'That Antipater, one of Alexander's captains, 'abrogated the popular government (in Athens,) and re'stored the power of suffrages and magistracy to such only, 'as were worth two thousand drachmas; by which means, 'says he, that republic came to be [again] administred 'by the laws of Solon.' By this quotation it is manifest, that great author looked upon Solon's institution, and a popular government, to be two different things. And as for

* The Earl of Portland. Orrery.

† *Lib. 18.*

for this reſtoration by Antipater, it had neither conſequence nor continuance worth obſerving.

I might eaſily produce many more examples, but theſe are ſufficient: and it may be worth the reader's time to reflect a little on the merits of the cauſe, as well as of the men, who had been thus dealt with by their country. I ſhall direct him no further than by repeating that Ariſtides was the moſt renowned by the people themſelves for his exact *juſtice and knowledge in the law*; that Themiſtocles was a moſt fortunate admiral, and had got a mighty victory over the great King of Perſia's fleet; that Pericles was an able miniſter of ſtate, an excellent orator, and a man of letters: and laſtly, that Phocion, beſides the ſucceſs of his arms, was alſo renowned for his negotiations abroad, having in an embaſſy brought the greateſt monarch of the world at that time to the terms of an honourable peace, by which his country was preſerved.

I ſhall conclude my remarks upon Athens with the character given us of that people by Polybius. "About "this time, *ſays he*, the Athenians were governed by "two men; quite ſunk in their affairs; had little or no "commerce with the reſt of Greece, and were become "great reverencers of crowned heads."

For, from the time of Alexander's captains till Greece was ſubdued by the Romans, to the latter part of which this deſcription of Polybius falls in, Athens never produced one famous man either for councils or arms, or hardly for learning. And indeed it was a dark inſipid period through all Greece: for except the Achaian league under Aratus and Philopœmen; and the endeavours of Agis and Cleomenes to reſtore the ſtate of Sparta, ſo frequently harraſſed by tyrannies occaſioned by the popular practices of the Ephori, there was very little worth recording. All which conſequences may perhaps be juſtly imputed to this degeneracy of Athens.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the diſſenſions between the Patricians and Plebeians in Rome, with the conſequences they had upon that ſtate.

HAVING in the foregoing chapter confined myſelf to the proceedings of the Commons only by the method of *impeachments* againſt particular perſons, with the fatal effects they had upon the ſtate of Athens, I ſhall now treat of the diſſenſions at Rome between the people and the collective body of the Patricians or Nobles. It is a large ſubject, but I ſhall draw it into as narrow a compaſs as I can.

As Greece, from the moſt ancient accounts we have of it, was divided into ſeveral kingdoms, ſo was moſt part of Italy * into ſeveral petty commonwealths. And as thoſe kings in Greece are ſaid to have been depoſed by their people upon the ſcore of their arbitrary proceedings, ſo on the contrary the commonwealths of Italy were all ſwallowed up, and concluded in the tyranny of the Roman Emperors. However, the differences between thoſe Grecian monarchies, and Italian republics, were not very great: for by the accounts Homer gives us of thoſe Grecian princes who came to the ſiege of Troy, as well as by ſeveral paſſages in the Odyſſes, it is manifeſt, that the power of theſe princes in their ſeveral ſtates was much of a ze with that of the kings in Sparta, the archon at Athens, the ſuffetes at Carthage, and the conſuls in Rome: ſo that a limited and divided power ſeems to have been the moſt antient and inherent principles of both thoſe people in matters of government. And ſuch did that of Rome continue from the time of Romulus, tho' with ſome interruptions, to Julius Cæſar, when it ended in the tyranny of a ſingle perſon. During which period (not many years longer than from the Norman conqueſt to our age) the Commons were growing, by degrees, into power and property, gaining ground upon the

* *Dionyſ. Halicar.*

the Patricians, as it were, inch by inch, till at laſt they quite overturned the balance, leaving all doors open to the practices of popular and ambitious men, who deſtroyed the wiſeſt republic, and enſlaved the nobleſt people that ever entered upon the ſtage of the world. By what ſteps and degrees this was brought to paſs, ſhall be the ſubject of my preſent enquiry.

WHILE Rome was governed by kings, the monarchy was altogether elective. Romulus himſelf, when he had built the city, was declared King by the univerſal conſent of the people, and by augury, which was there underſtood for divine appointment. Among other diviſions he made of the people, one was into Patricians and Plebeians: the former were like the barons of England ſome time after the conqueſt; and the latter are alſo deſcribed to be almoſt exactly what our Commons were then. For they were dependents upon the Patricians, whom they choſe for their patrons and protectors, to anſwer for their appearance, and defend them in any proceſs; they alſo ſupplied their patrons with money in exchange for their protection. This cuſtom of *patronage*, it ſeems, was very antient, and long practiſed among the Greeks.

OUT of theſe Patricians Romulus choſe an hundred to be a *ſenate*, or *grand council* for advice and aſſiſtance to him in the adminiſtration. The ſenate therefore originally conſiſted all of *nobles*, and were of themſelves a *ſtanding council*, the *people* being only convoked upon ſuch occaſions, as by this inſtitution of Romulus fell into their cognizance: thoſe were to conſtitute magiſtrates, to give their votes for making laws, and to adviſe upon entering on a war. But the two former of theſe popular privileges were to be confirmed by authority of the ſenate; and the laſt was only permitted at the King's pleaſure. This was the utmoſt extent of power pretended to by the Commons in the time of Romulus; all the reſt being divided between the King and the ſenate; the whole agreeing very nearly with the conſtitution of England for ſome centuries after the conqueſt.

AFTER a year's *inter-regnum* from the death of Romulus, the ſenate, of their own authority, choſe a ſucceſſor, *and a ſtranger*, merely upon the fame of his virtue, *without aſking* the conſent of the Commons; which cuſtom

they

they likewiſe obſerved in the two following kings. But in the election of Tarquinius Priſcus, the fifth King, we firſt hear mentioned, that it was done *populi impetrata venia*; which indeed was but very reaſonable for a free people to expect; tho' I cannot remember, in my little reading, by what incidents they were brought to advance ſo great a ſtep. However it were, this Prince in gratitude to the people, by whoſe conſent he was choſen, elected a hundred ſenators out of the commons, whoſe number, with former additions, was now amounted to three hundred.

THE people having once diſcovered their own ſtrength, did ſoon take occaſion to exert it, and that by very great degrees. For at this King's death, who was murdered by the ſons of a former, being at a loſs for a ſucceſſor, Servius Tullius, a ſtranger, and of mean extraction, was choſen protector of the kingdom by the *people*, without the conſent of the ſenate; at which the nobles being diſpleaſed, he wholly applied himſelf to gratify the Commons, and was by them declared and confirmed no longer Protector, but King.

THIS Prince firſt introduced the cuſtom of giving freedom to ſervants, ſo as to become citizens of equal privileges with the reſt, which very much contributed to increaſe the power of the *people*.

THUS in a very few years the commons proceeded ſo far, as to wreſt even the power of chuſing a king entirely out of the hands of the nobles; which was ſo great a leap, and cauſed ſuch a convulſion and ſtruggle in the ſtate, that the conſtitution could not bear it; but civil diſſenſions aroſe, which immediately were followed by the tyranny of a ſingle perſon, as this was by the utter ſubverſion of the regal government, and by a ſettlement upon a new foundation. For the nobles, ſpighted at this indignity done them by the commons, firmly united in a body, depoſed this Prince by plain force, and choſe Tarquin the Proud, who running into all the forms and methods of tyranny, after a cruel reign, was expelled by an univerſal concurrence of nobles and people, whom the miſeries of his reign had reconciled.

WHEN the conſular government began, the balance of power between the nobles and plebeians was fixed anew:

the two first Consuls were nominated by the nobles, and confirmed by the commons; and a law was enacted, that no person should bear any magistracy in Rome, *injussu populi*, that is, *without consent of the Commons*.

In such turbulent times as these, many of the poorer citizens had contracted numerous debts either to the richer sort among themselves, or to senators and other nobles: and the case of debtors in Rome for the first four * centuries was, after the set time for payment, no choice but either to pay or be the creditor's slave. In this juncture the commons leave the city in mutiny and discontent, and will not return but upon condition to be acquitted of all their debts; and moreover, that certain magistrates be chosen yearly, whose business it shall be to defend the commons from injuries. These are called *Tribunes* of the people, their persons are held sacred and inviolable, and the people bind themselves by oath never to abrogate the office. By these Tribunes, in process of time, the people were grossly imposed on to serve the turns and occasions of revengeful or ambitious men, and to commit such exorbitancies as could not end but in the dissolution of the government.

These Tribunes, a year or two after their institution, kindled great dissensions between the nobles and the commons on the account of Coriolanus, a nobleman, whom the latter had *impeached*, and the consequences of whose impeachment (if I had not confined myself to Grecian examples for that part of my subject) had like to have been so fatal to their state. And from this time the Tribunes began a custom of accusing to the people whatever Nobles they pleased, several of whom were banished or put to death in every age.

At this time the Romans were very much engaged in wars with their neighbouring states; but upon the least intervals of peace the quarrels between the Nobles and the Plebeians would revive; and one of the most frequent subjects of their differences was the *conquered lands*, which the commons would fain have divided among the public; but the senate could not be brought to give their consent. For several of the wisest among the nobles *began to apprehend* the growing power of the people; and therefore

* *Ab urbe condita. From the building of the city.*

therefore knowing what an acceſſion thereof would accrue to them by ſuch an addition of property, uſed all means to prevent it: for this the Appian family was moſt noted, and thereupon moſt hated by the commons. One of them having made a ſpeech againſt this diviſion of lands, was impeached by the people of high treaſon, and a day appointed for his trial; but diſdaining to make his defence, he choſe rather the uſual Roman remedy, of killing himſelf: after whoſe death the commons prevailed, and the lands were divided among them.

THIS point was no ſooner gained, but new diſſenſions began: for the plebeians would fain have a law enacted to lay all mens rights and privileges upon the ſame level; and to enlarge the power of every magiſtrate within his own juriſdiction, as much as that of the conſuls. The tribunes alſo obtained to have their number doubled, which before was five: and the author tells us †, that their inſolence and power increaſed with their number, and the ſeditions were alſo doubled with it.

BY the beginning of the fourth century from the building of Rome, the tribunes proceeded ſo far in the name of the commons, as to accuſe and fine the conſuls themſelves, who repreſented the kingly power. And the ſenate obſerving, how in all contentions they were forced to yield to the tribunes and people, thought it their wiſeſt courſe to give way alſo to time; therefore a decree was made to ſend ambaſſadors to Athens, and to the other Grecian commonwealths planted in that part of Italy called Græcia Major, to make a collection of the beſt laws; out of which, and ſome of their own, a new complete body of law was formed, afterwards known by the name of the *laws of the twelve tables*.

TO digeſt theſe laws into order ten men were choſen, and the adminiſtration of all affairs left in their hands: what uſe they made of it has been already ſhewn. It was certainly a great revolution, produced entirely by the many unjuſt encroachments of the people; and might have wholly changed the fate of Rome, if the folly and vice of thoſe, who were chiefly concerned, could have ſuffered it to take root.

A few years after, the commons made farther advances

† Dionyſ. Halicar.

on the power of the nobles; demanding among the reſt that the conſulſhip, which hitherto had only been diſpoſed to the former, ſhould now lie in common to the pretenſions of any Roman whatſoever. This, tho' it failed at preſent, yet afterwards obtained, and was a mighty ſtep to the ruin of the commonwealth.

WHAT I have hitherto ſaid of Rome, has been chiefly collected out of that exact and diligent writer Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, whoſe hiſtory, thro' the injury of time, reaches no farther than to the beginning of the fourth century after the building of Rome. The reſt I ſhall ſupply from other authors; tho' I do not think it neceſſary to deduce this matter any further ſo very particularly, as I have hitherto done.

To point at what time the balance of power was moſt equally held betwen the *Lords* and *Commons* in Rome, would perhaps admit a controverſy. Polybius tells us*, that in the ſecond Punic war the Carthaginians were declining, becauſe the balance was got too much on their ſide of the people; whereas the Romans were in the greateſt vigour, by the power remaining in the ſenate: yet this was between two and three hundred years after the period Dionyſius ends with; in which time the commons had made ſeveral further acquiſitions. This however muſt be granted, that (till about the middle of the fourth century when the ſenate appeared reſolute at any time upon exerting their authority, and adhering cloſely together,) they did often carry their point. Beſides, it is obſerved by the beſt authors†, that in all the quarrels and tumults at Rome, from the expulſion of the kings, tho' the people frequently proceeded to rude contumelious language, and ſometimes ſo far as to pull and hale one another about the forum, yet no blood was ever drawn in any popular commotions, till the time of the Gracchi: however, I am of opinion, that the balance had begun many years before to lean to the popular ſide. But this default was corrected, partly by the principle juſt mentioned, of never drawing blood in a tumult; partly by the warlike genius of the people, which in thoſe ages was almoſt perpetually employed; and partly

* *Fragm. lib. 6.* † Dionyſ. Halicar. Plutarch, &c.

partly by their great commanders, who by the credit they had in their armies fell into the ſcales as a further counterpoiſe to the growing power of the people. Beſides, Polybius, who lived in the time of Scipio Africanus the younger, had the ſame apprehenſions of the continual encroachments made by the commons; and being a perſon of as great abilities, and as much ſagacity, as any of his age, from obſerving the corruptions, which, he ſays, had already entered into the Roman conſtitution, did very nearly foretel what would be the iſſue of them. His words are very remarkable, and with little addition may be rendered to this purpoſe. "That thoſe abuſes and corruptions, which in time deſtroy a government, are ſown along with the very ſeeds of it, and both grow up together; and that as ruſt eats away iron, and worms devour wood, and both are a ſort of plagues born and bred along with the ſubſtance they deſtroy; ſo with every form and ſcheme of government that man can invent, ſome vice or corruption creeps in with the very inſtitution, which grows up along with, and at laſt deſtroys it *." The ſame author in another place †, ventures ſo far as to gueſs at the particular fate, which would attend the Roman government. He ſays, its ruin would ariſe from the popular tumults, which would introduce a *dominatio plebis*, or tyranny of the people; wherein it is certain he had reaſon, and therefore might have adventured to purſue his conjectures ſo far, as to the conſequences of a popular tyranny, which, as perpetual experience teaches, never fails to be followed by the arbitrary government of a ſingle perſon.

About the middle of the fourth century from the building of Rome, it was declared lawful for *nobles* and *plebeians* to inter-marry; which cuſtom, among many other ſtates, has proved the moſt effectual means to ruin the former, and raiſe the latter

And now the greateſt employments in the ſtate were, one after another, by laws forcibly enacted by the *commons*, made free to the people, the Conſulſhip itſelf, the office of Cenſor, that of the Quæſtors or Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, the office of Prætor or Chief Juſtice;

* Lib. 5. † Fragm. Lib. 6.

the Prieſthood, and even that of Dictator: the ſenate, after long oppoſition, yielding merely for preſent quiet to the continual urging clamours of the *commons* and of the *tribunes* their advocates. A law was likewiſe enacted, that the *plebiſcita*, or a *vote of the houſe of Commons*, ſhould be of univerſal obligation; nay, in time the method of enacting laws was wholly inverted; for whereas the ſenate uſed of old to confirm the *plebiſcita*, the people did at laſt, as they pleaſed, confirm or diſannul the *ſenatuſconſulta* *.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS brought in a cuſtom of admitting to the ſenate the ſons of freed men, or of ſuch who had once been ſlaves; by which, and ſucceeding alterations of the like nature, that great council degenerated into a moſt corrupt and factious body of men, divided againſt itſelf; and its authority became deſpiſed.

THE century and half following, to the end of the third Punic war, by the deſtruction of Carthage, was a very buſy period at Rome; the intervals between every war being ſo ſhort, that the *tribunes* and *people* had hardly leiſure or breath to engage in domeſtic diſſenſions; however, the little time they could ſpare, was generally employed the ſame way. So Terentius Leo, a *tribune*, is recorded to have baſely proſtituted the privileges of a *Roman citizen*, in perfect ſpight to the *nobles*. So the great African Scipio and his brother, after all their mighty ſervices, were impeached by an ungrateful *commons*.

HOWEVER, the warlike genius of the people, and continual employment they had for it, ſerved to divert this humour from running into a head, till the age of the Graechi.

THESE perſons entering the ſcene in the time of a full peace, fell violently upon advancing the power of the people by reducing into practice all thoſe encroachments, which they had been ſo many years gaining. There were at that time certain *conquered lands* to be divided, beſide a *great private eſtate left by a king*: theſe the *tribunes*, by procurement of the elder Gracchus, declared by their legiſlative authority, were not to be diſpoſed of by the *nobles*, but by the *commons* only. The younger

† *Dionyſ.* lib. 2.

er brother purſued the ſame deſign; and beſides, obtained a law, that all Italians ſhould vote at elections, as well as the citizens of Rome: in ſhort, the whole endeavours of them both perpetually turned upon retrenching the *nobles* authority in all things, but eſpecially in the matter of *judicature*. And tho' they both loſt their lives in thoſe purſuits, yet they traced out ſuch ways as were afterwards followed by Marius, Sylla, Pompey, and Cæſar, to the ruin of the Roman freedom and greatneſs.

For in the time of Marius, Saturninus a tribune procured a law, that the ſenate ſhould be bound by oath to agree to whatever the people would enact: and Marius himſelf, while he was in that office of tribune, is recorded to have, with great induſtry, uſed all endeavours for depreſſing the *nobles*, and raiſing the people, particularly for cramping the former in their *power of judicature*, which was *their moſt antient inherent right*.

Sylla by the ſame meaſures became abſolute tyrant of Rome: he added three hundred commons to the ſenate, which perplexed the power of the whole order, and rendered it ineffectual; then flinging off the maſk, he aboliſhed the office of tribune, as being only a ſcaffold to tyranny, whereof he had no further uſe.

As to Pompey and Cæſar, Plutarch tells us, that their union for pulling down the *nobles* (by their credit with the people) was the cauſe of the civil war, which ended in the tyranny of the latter; both of them in their conſulſhips having uſed all endeavours and occaſions for ſinking the authority of the *patricians*, and giving way to all encroachments of the people, wherein they expected beſt to find their own account.

From this deduction of popular encroachments in Rome the reader will eaſily judge how much the balance was fallen upon that ſide. Indeed by this time the very foundation was removed, and it was a moral impoſſibility, that the republic could ſubſiſt any longer: for the *commons* having uſurped the offices of ſtate, and trampled on the ſenate, there was no government left but a *dominatio plebis*. Let us therefore examine how they proceeded in this conjuncture.

I think it is an univerſal truth, that the people are much more dextrous at pulling down and ſetting up, than

than at preſerving what is fixed; and they are not fonder of ſeizing more than their own, than they are of delivering it up again to the *worſt bidder*, with their own into the bargain. For altho' in their corrupt notions of divine worſhip, they are apt to multiply their gods; yet their earthly devotion is ſeldom paid to above one idol at a time of their own creation, whoſe *oar* they pull with leſs murmuring and much more ſkill, than when they *ſhare the lading*, or even *hold the helm*.

THE ſeveral provinces of the Roman empire were now governed by the great men of their ſtate: thoſe upon the frontiers with powerful armies either for conqueſt or defence. Theſe governors, upon any deſigns of revenge or ambition, were ſure to meet with a divided power at home, and therefore bent all their thoughts and applications to cloſe in with the people, who were now by many degrees the ſtronger party. Two of the greateſt ſpirits, that Rome ever produced, happened to live at the ſame time, and to be engaged in the ſame purſuit; and this at a conjuncture the moſt dangerous for ſuch a conteſt: theſe were Pompey and Cæſar, two ſtars of ſuch a magnitude, that their *conjunction* was as likely to be fatal, as their *oppoſition*.

THE *tribunes* and people, having now ſubdued all competitors, began the laſt game of a prevalent populace, which is that of chuſing themſelves a *maſter*; while the nobles forſaw, and uſed all endeavours left them to prevent it. The people at firſt made Pompey their Admiral with full power over all the Mediterranean, ſoon after Captain-General of all the Roman forces, and Governor of Aſia. Pompey, on the other ſide, reſtored the office of *tribune*, which Sylla had put down; and in his Conſulſhip procured a law for *examining into the miſcarriages of men in office or command for twenty years paſt*. Many other examples of Pompey's popularity are left us on record, who was a perfect favourite of the people, and deſigned to be more; but his pretenſions grew ſtale for want of a timely opportunity of introducing them upon the ſtage. For Cæſar, with his legions in Gaul, was a perpetual check upon his deſigns; and in the arts of pleaſing the people did ſoon after get many lengths beyond him.

him. For he tells us himself, that the senate by a bold effort having made some severe decrees against his proceedings, and against the tribunes, these all left the city, and went over to his party, and consequently along with them the affections and interests of the people; which is further manifest from the accounts he gives us of the citizens in several towns mutinying against their commanders, and delivering both to his devotion. Besides, Cæsar's public and avowed pretensions for beginning the civil war were to restore the tribunes and the people oppressed (as he pretended) by the *nobles*.

THIS forced Pompey, against his inclinations, upon the necessity of changing sides, for fear of being forsaken by both, and of closing in with the senate and chief magistrates, by whom he was chosen General against Cæsar.

THUS at length the *senate* (at least the primitive part of them, the *nobles*) under Pompey, and the *commons* under Cæsar, came to a final decision of the long quarrels between them. For, I think, the ambition of private men did by no means begin or occasion this war; tho' civil dissensions never fail of introducing and spiriting the ambition of private men; who thus become indeed the great instruments for deciding of such quarrels, and at last are sure to seize on the prize. But no man, that sees a flock of vultures hovering over two armies ready to engage, can justly charge the blood drawn in the battle to them, tho' the carcasses fall to their share. For while the balance of power is equally held, the ambition of private men, whether orators or great commanders, gives neither danger nor fear, nor, can possibly enslave their country; but that once broken, the divided parties are forced to unite each to its head, under whose conduct or fortune one side is at first victorious, and at last both are slaves. And to put it past dispute, that this entire subversion of the Roman liberty and constitution was altogether owing to those measures, which had broke the balance between the *patricians* and *plebeians*, whereof the ambition of particular men was but an effect and consequence, we need only consider, that when the uncorrupted part of the senate had, by the death of Cæsar, made one great effort to restore their former state and liberty, the success did not answer their hopes, but that whole assembly

aſſembly was ſo ſunk in its authority, that thoſe patriots were forced to fly, and give way to the madneſs of the people, who by their own diſpoſitions, ſtirred up with the harrangues of their orators, were now wholly bent upon ſingle and deſpotic ſlavery. Elſe, how could ſuch a profligate as Antony, or a boy of eighteen, like Octavius, ever dare to dream of giving the law to ſuch an empire and people; wherein the latter ſucceeded, and entailed the vileſt tyranny, that heaven in its anger ever inflicted on a corrupt and poiſoned people. And this, with ſo little appearance at Cæſar's death, that when Cicero wrote to Brutus, how he had prevailed by his credit with Octavius to promiſe him [Brutus] pardon and ſecurity for his perſon, that great Roman received the notice with the utmoſt indignity, and returned Cicero an anſwer, yet upon record, full of the higheſt reſentment and contempt for ſuch an offer, and from ſuch a hand.

HERE ended all ſhew or ſhadow of liberty in Rome. Here was the repoſitory of all the wiſe contentions, and ſtruggles for power between the nobles and commons; lapped up ſafely in the boſom of a Nero and a Caligula, a Tiberius and a Domitian.

LET us now ſee from this deduction of particular impeachments, and general diſſenſions in Greece and Rome, what concluſions may naturally be formed for inſtruction of any other ſtate, that may haply upon many points labour under the like circumſtances.

CHAP. IV.

UPON the ſubject of *impeachments* we may obſerve, that the cuſtom of accuſing the *nobles* to the *people*, either by themſelves, or their orators, (now ſtyled an *impeachment in the name of the commons*) hath been very antient both in Greece and Rome, as well as Carthage; and therefore may ſeem to be the inherent right of a free people, nay, perhaps it is really ſo: but then it is to be conſidered, firſt, that this cuſtom was peculiar to republics, or ſuch ſtates where the adminiſtration lay principally in the hands of the commons, and ever raged more or leſs according to their encroachments upon abſolute power;

power; having been always looked upon, by the wiſeſt men and beſt authors of thoſe times, as an effect of licentiouſneſs, and not of liberty; a diſtinction, which no multitude either *repreſented* or *collective*, hath been at any time very nice in obſerving. However, perhaps this cuſtom in a popular ſtate of impeaching particular men may ſeem to be nothing elſe, but the people's chuſing upon occaſion to exerciſe their own juriſdiction in perſon; as if a King of England ſhould ſit as chief juſtice in his court of King's Bench; which, they ſay, in former times he ſometimes did. But in Sparta, which was called a kingly government, tho' the people were perfectly free, yet becauſe the adminiſtration was in the two kings and the *ephori* with the aſſiſtance of the ſenate, we read of no impeachments by the people, nor was the proceſs againſt great men, either upon account of ambition or ill conduct, tho' it reached ſometimes to kings themſelves, ever formed that way, as I can recollect, but only paſſed thro' thoſe hands, where the adminiſtration lay. So likewiſe during the regal government in Rome, tho' it was inſtituted a mixed monarchy, and the people made great advances in power, yet I do not remember to have read of one impeachment from the commons againſt a patrician, until the conſular ſtate began, and the people had made great encroachments upon the adminiſtration.

ANOTHER thing to be conſidered is, that allowing this right of impeachment to be as inherent as they pleaſe, yet, if the commons have been perpetually miſtaken in the merits of the cauſes and the perſons, as well as in the conſequences of ſuch impeachments upon the peace of the ſtate, we cannot conclude leſs, than that the commons in Greece and Rome, (whatever they may be in other ſtates) were by no means qualified either as proſecutors or judges in ſuch matters; and therefore, that it would have been prudent, to have reſerved theſe privileges dormant, never to be produced but upon very great and urging occaſions, where the ſtate is in apparent danger, the univerſal body of the people in clamours againſt the adminiſtration, and no other remedy in view. But for a few popular orators or tribunes, upon the ſcore of *perſonal ſiques*; or *to employ the pride they conceive in ſeeing themſelves at the head of a party*; or *as a method for advancement*; or moved

ved by certain powerful arguments that could make Demoſthenes philippize: for ſuch men, I ſay, when the ſtate would of itſelf gladly be quiet, and hath, beſides, affairs of the laſt importance upon the anvil, to "impeach 'Miltiades † after a great naval victory, for not purſuing 'the Perſian fleet: to impeach Ariſtides, the perſon moſt 'verſed among them in the knowledge and practice of 'their laws, for a blind ſuſpicion of his acting in an arbi-'trary way (that is, as they expound it, not in concert with 'the people:) to impeach Pericles, after all his ſervices, 'for a few inconſiderable accounts; or to impeach Pho-'cion, who had been guilty of no other crime but nego-'tiating a treaty for the peace and ſecurity of his coun-'try:' what would the continuance of ſuch proceedings end in, but the utter diſcouragement of all virtuous actions and perſons, and conſequently in the ruin of a ſtate? therefore the hiſtorians of thoſe ages ſeldom fail to ſet this matter in all its lights, leaving us the higheſt and moſt honourable *ideas* of thoſe perſons, who ſuffered by the proſecution of the people, together with the fatal conſequences they had, and how the perſecutors ſeldom failed to repent, when it was too late.

THESE impeachments perpetually falling upon many of the beſt men both in Greece and Rome, are a cloud of witneſſes, and examples enough to diſcourage men of virtue and abilities from engaging in the ſervice of the public; and help on the other ſide to introduce the ambitious, the covetous, the ſuperficial, and the ill-deſigning; who are as apt to be bold, and forward, and meddling, as the former are to be cautious, and modeſt, and reſerved. This was ſo well known in Greece, that an eagerneſs after employments in the ſtate was looked upon by wiſe men, as the worſt title a man could ſet up; and made Plato ſay, "That if all men were as good as they "ought, the quarrel in a commonwealth would be, not as "it is now, who ſhould be miniſters of ſtate, but who "ſhould

† Tho' in other paſſages Lord Orford's character is ſuppoſed to be drawn under the name of Themiſtocles, yet he ſeems to *be repreſented* by Miltiades here; for Themiſtocles was not *impeached at* all. See p. 20. Hawkeſ.

" ſhould not be ſo." And Socrates* is introduced by Xenophon ſeverely chiding a friend of his for not entering into the public ſervice. when he was every way qualified for it: ſuch a backwardneſs there was at that time among good men to engage with an uſurping people, and a ſett of *pragmatical ambitious orators*. And Diodorus tells us †, that when the *petaliſm* was erected at Syracuſe, in imitation of the *oſtraciſm* ‡ at Athens, it was ſo notoriouſly levelled againſt all who had either birth or merit to recommend them, that whoever poſſeſſed either, withdrew for fear, and would have no concern in public affairs. So that the people themſelves were forced to abrogate it for fear of bringing all things into confuſion.

THERE is one thing more to be obſerved, wherein all the popular impeachments in Greece and Rome ſeem to have agreed; and that was, a notion they had of being concerned in *point of honour* to condemn whatever perſon they impeached, however frivolous the articles were, upon which they began, or however weak the ſurmiſes, whereon they were to proceed in their proofs. For, to conceive that the body of the people could be miſtaken, was an indignity not to be imagined, till the conſequences had convinced them, when it was paſt remedy. And I look upon this as a fate, to which all popular accuſations are ſubject; tho' I ſhould think that the ſaying, *Vox populi vox Dei*, ought to be underſtood of the univerſal bent and current of a people, not of the *bare majority* of a few repreſentatives, which is often procured by *little arts*, and great induſtry and application; wherein thoſe,

* Lib. Memorab. † Lib. 11.

‡ *Oſtraciſm* was a kind of popular ſentence to baniſhment paſſed againſt men whoſe perſonal influence, from whatever cauſe, was thought to render them dangerous to the ſtate: the votes were given by writing the name of the perſon on a ſhell, by the Greeks called ὄστρακον, and caſting the ſhell into an urn.

Petaliſm was a ſentence nearly of the ſame kind; and as *oſtraciſm* was denominated from the ſhell on which the name of the ſuſpected party was written, *petaliſm* took its name from πέταλον, a leaf, which the Syracuſians uſed for the ſame purpoſe. *Hawkeſ*

who engage in the purſuits of malice and revenge, are much more ſedulous than ſuch as would prevent them.

FROM what hath been deduced of the *diſſenſions* in Rome between the two bodies of patricians and plebeians, ſeveral reflections may be made.

Firſt, That when the balance of power is duly fixed in a ſtate, nothing is more dangerous or unwiſe, than to give way to the *firſt ſteps* of popular encroachments; which is uſually done either in hopes of procuring eaſe and quiet from ſome vexatious clamour, or elſe *made merchandize, and merely bought and ſold.* This is breaking into a conſtitution to ſerve a preſent expedient, or ſupply a preſent exigency: the remedy of an empiric, to ſtifle the preſent pain, but with certain proſpect of ſudden and terrible returns. When a child grows eaſy and content by being humoured; and when a lover becomes ſatisfied by ſmall compliances, without further purſuits; then expect to find popular aſſemblies content with ſmall conceſſions. If there could one ſingle example be brought from the whole compaſs of hiſtory, of any one popular aſſembly, who, after beginning to contend for power, ever ſat down quietly with a certain ſhare: or if one inſtance could be produced of a popular aſſembly, that ever knew, or propoſed, or declared what ſhare of power was their due; then might there be ſome hopes, that it were a matter to be adjuſted by reaſonings, by conferences, or debates: but ſince all that is manifeſtly otherwiſe, I ſee no other courſe to be taken in a ſettled ſtate, than a ſteady conſtant reſolution in thoſe, to whom the reſt of the balance is entruſted, never to give way ſo far to popular clamours, as to make the leaſt breach in the conſtitution, thro' which a million of abuſes and encroachments will certainly in time force their way.

AGAIN, from this deduction it will not be difficult to gather and aſſign certain marks of popular encroachments; by obſerving of which, thoſe who hold the balance in a ſtate may judge of the degrees, and, by early remedies and application, put a ſtop to the fatal conſequences that would otherwiſe enſue. What thoſe marks are, hath been at large deduced, and need not be here repeated.

ANOTHER conſequence is this: that (with all reſpect for *popular* aſſemblies be it ſpoken) it is hard to recollect one

folly,

folly, infirmity, or vice, to which a ſingle man is ſubjected, and from which a body of commons, either collective or repreſented, can be wholly exempt. For, beſides that they are compoſed of men, with all their infirmities about them, they have alſo the ill fortune to be generally led and influenced by the very worſt among themſelves, I mean, *popular orators*, *tribunes*, or, as they are now ſtyled, *great ſpeakers*, *leading men*, and the like. From whence it comes to paſs, that in their reſults we have ſometimes found the ſame ſpirit of cruelty and revenge, of malice and pride, the ſame blindneſs, and obſtinacy, and unſteadineſs, the ſame ungovernable rage and anger, the ſame injuſtice, ſophiſtry and fraud, that ever lodged in the breaſt of any individual.

AGAIN, in all free ſtates the evil to be avoided is *tyranny*, that is to ſay, the *ſumma imperii*, or unlimited power ſolely in the hands of the *one*, the *few*, or the *many*. Now, we have ſhewn, that altho' moſt revolutions of government in Greece and Rome began with the tyranny of the people, yet they generally concluded in that of a ſingle perſon; ſo that an uſurping populace is its own *dupe*; a mere underworker, and a purchaſer in truſt for ſome ſingle tyrant, whoſe ſtate and power they advance to their own ruin, with as blind an inſtinct, as thoſe worms that die with weaving magnificent habits for beings of a ſuperior nature to their own.

CHAP. V.

SOME reflections upon the late public proceedings among us, and that variety of factions into which we are ſtill ſo intricately engaged, gave occaſion to this diſcourſe. I am not conſcious, that I have forced one example, or put it into any other light than it appeared to me long before I had thought of producing it.

I cannot conclude without adding ſome particular remarks upon the preſent poſture of affairs and diſpoſitions in this kingdom.

THE fate of empire is grown a common-place: that all forms of government having been inſtituted by men, muſt be mortal, like their authors, and have their periods of

duration limited as well as thoſe of private perſons. This is a truth of vulgar knowledge and obſervation: but there are few who turn their thoughts to examine how thoſe diſeaſes in a ſtate are bred, that haſten its end; which would however be a very uſeful enquiry. For, tho' we cannot prolong the period of a commonwealth beyond the decree of heaven, or the date of its nature, any more than human life beyond the ſtrength of the ſeminal virtue; yet we may manage a ſickly conſtitution, and preſerve a ſtrong one; we may watch and prevent accidents; we may turn off a great blow from without, and purge away an ill humour that is lurking within: and by theſe, and other ſuch methods, render a ſtate long-lived, tho' not immortal. Yet ſome phyſicians have thought, that if it were practicable to keep the ſeveral humours of the body in an exact equal balance of each with its oppoſite, it might be immortal, and ſo perhaps would a political body, if the balance of power could be always held exactly even. But, I doubt, this is as impoſſible in practice as the other.

IT hath an appearance of fatality, and that the period of a ſtate approacheth, when a concurrence of many circumſtances, both within and without, unite towards its ruin: while the whole body of the people are either ſtupidly negligent, or elſe giving in with all their might to thoſe very practices, that are working their deſtruction. To ſee whole bodies of men breaking a conſtitution by the very ſame errors, that ſo many have been broke before: to obſerve oppoſite parties, who can agree in nothing elſe, yet firmly united in ſuch meaſures, as muſt certainly ruin their country: in ſhort, to be encompaſſed with the greateſt dangers from without, to be torn by many virulent factions within; then to be ſecure and ſenſeleſs under all this, and to make it the very leaſt of our concern; theſe, and ſome others that might be named, appear to me to be the moſt likely ſymptoms in a ſtate of a *ſickneſs unto death*.

Quod procul a nobis flectat fortuna gubernans:
Et ratio potius, quam res perſuadeat ipſa. Lucret.

THERE are ſome conjunctures, wherein the death or *diſſolution* of government is more lamentable in its conſequences,

quences, than it would be in others. And, I think, a ſtate can never arrive to its period in a more deplorable *criſis*, than at a time when ſome *prince in the neighbourhood*, of vaſt power and ambition, lies hovering like a vulture to devour, or, at leaſt diſmember its dying carcaſs; by which means it becomes only a province or acquiſition to ſome mighty monarchy, without hopes of a reſurrection.

I know very well, there is a ſett of ſanguine tempers, who deride and ridicule, in the number of fopperies, all ſuch apprehenſions as theſe. They have it ready in their mouths, that the people of England are of a genius and temper never to admit ſlavery among them; and they are furniſhed with a great many common-places upon that ſubject. But it ſeems to me, that ſuch diſcourſers do reaſon upon ſhort views, and a very moderate compaſs of thought. For I think it a great error to count upon the genius of a nation as a ſtanding argument in all ages, ſince there is hardly a ſpot of ground in Europe, where the inhabitants have not frequently and entirely changed their temper and genius. Neither can I ſee any reaſon, why the genius of a nation ſhould be more fixed in the point of government, than in their morals, their learning, their religion, their common humour and converſation, their diet and their complexion; which do all notoriouſly vary almoſt in every age, and may every one of them have great effects upon mens notions of government.

SINCE the Norman conqueſt the balance of power in England hath often varied, and ſometimes been wholly overturned; the part which the commons had in it, (*that moſt diſputed point*) *in its original, progreſs, and extent*, was, by their own confeſſions, but a very inconſiderable ſhare. Generally ſpeaking, they have been gaining ever ſince, tho' with frequent interruptions and ſlow progreſs. The aboliſhing of *villanage*, together with the cuſtom introduced (or permitted) among the nobles of ſelling their lands in the reign of Henry the Seventh, was a mighty addition to the power of the commons: yet I think a much greater happened in the time of his ſucceſſor, at the diſſolution of the abbeys; for this turned the *clergy* wholly out of the ſcale, who had ſo long filled it; and placed the *commons* in their ſtead;

who in a few years became poſſeſſed of vaſt quantities of thoſe and other lands by grant or purchaſe. About the middle of Q. Elizabeth's reign, I take the power between the nobles and the commons to have been in more equal balance, than it was ever before or ſince. But then or ſoon after aroſe a faction in England, which, under the name of *puritan*, began to grow popular by molding up their new ſchemes of religion with republican principles in government; and, gaining upon the *prerogative* as well as the *nobles*, under ſeveral denominations, for the ſpace of about ſixty years, did at laſt overthrow the conſtitution, and, according to the uſual courſe of ſuch revolutions, did introduce a tyranny, firſt of the people, and then of a ſingle perſon

In a ſhort time after, the old government was revived. But the progreſs of affairs for almoſt thirty years, under the reigns of two weak princes †, is a ſubject of a very different nature: when the balance was in danger to be overturned by the hands that held it, which was at laſt very ſeaſonably prevented by the late revolution. However, as it is the talant of human nature to run from one extreme to another, ſo in a very few years we have made mighty leaps from prerogative heights into the depths of popularity, and I doubt, to the very laſt degree that our conſtitution will bear. It were to be wiſhed, that the moſt auguſt aſſembly of the commons would pleaſe to form a *pandect* of their own power and privileges, to be confirmed by the entire legiſlative authority, and that in as ſolemn a manner (if they pleaſe) as the *magna charta*. But to fix one foot of their compaſs wherever they think fit, and extend the other to ſuch terrible lengths, without deſcribing any circumference at all, is to leave us and themſelves in a very uncertain ſtate, and in a ſort of *rotation*, that the author ‡ of the *Oceana* never dreamed on. I believe the moſt hardy tribune

† Charles II. and James II.

‡ Mr James Harrington, ſome time in the ſervice of King Charles I. after whoſe death he drew up and printed a form of popular government, entitled, *The commonwealth of Oceana:* he endeavoured likewiſe to promote this ſcheme by public diſcourſes at

bune will not venture to affirm at preſent, that any juſt fears of encroachment are given us from the regal power, or the *few*: and, is it then impoſſible to err on the other ſide? How far muſt we proceed, or where ſhall we ſtop? *The raging of the ſea*, and *the madneſs of the people* are put together in holy writ; and it is God alone who can ſay to either, *Hitherto ſhalt thou paſs, and no further.*

THE balance of power in a limited ſtate is of ſuch abſolute neceſſity, that Cromwell himſelf, before he had perfectly confirmed his tyranny, having ſome occaſions for the appearance of a parliament, was forced to create and erect an entire new houſe of Lords, ſuch as it was, for a counterpoiſe to the Commons. And indeed, conſidering the vileneſs of the clay, I have ſometimes wondered, that no tribune of that age durſt ever venture to aſk the *potter, What doſt thou make?* But it was then about the laſt act of a popular uſurpation, and *fate* or *Cromwell* had already prepared them for that of a ſingle perſon.

I have been often amazed at the rude, paſſionate, and miſtaken reſults, which have at certain times fallen from great aſſemblies, both antient and modern, and of other countries as well as our own. This gave me the opinion, I mentioned a while ago; that public conventions are liable to all the infirmities, follies, and vices of private men. To which if there be any exception, it muſt be of ſuch aſſemblies, who act by *univerſal concert upon public principles, and for public ends*; ſuch as proceed upon debates without *unbecoming warmths*; or *influence from particular leaders and inſtamers*; ſuch whoſe members inſtead of *canvaſſing to procure majorities for their private opinions, are ready to comply with general ſober reſults, tho' contrary to their own ſentiments.* Whatever aſſemblies act by theſe and other methods of the like nature, muſt be allowed to be exempt from ſeveral imperfections, to which

at a nightly meeting of ſeveral curious gentlemen in New Palace-Yard, Weſtminſter. This club was called the *Rota*; and Mr Henry Nevil, one of its members, propoſed to the then houſe of Commons, that a third part of the ſenate ſhould *rote* out by ballot every year, and be incapable of being elected again for three years to come. *Hawkeſ.*

which particular men are ſubjected. But I think the ſource of moſt miſtakes and miſcarriages in matters debated by public aſſemblies, ariſeth from the influence of private perſons upon great numbers, ſtyled in common phraſe, *leading men and parties*. And therefore when we ſometimes meet a *few words* put together, which is called the *vote* or *reſolution* of an aſſembly, and which we cannot poſſibly reconcile to *prudence* or *public good*, it is moſt charitable to conjecture, that ſuch a vote has been conceived, and born, and bred in a private brain, afterwards raiſed and ſupported by an obſequious party, and then with uſual methods confirmed by an *artificial* majority. For, let us ſuppoſe five hundred men, mixed in point of ſenſe and honeſty, as uſually aſſemblies are; and let us ſuppoſe theſe men propoſing, debating, reſolving, voting, according to the mere natural motions of their own little or much reaſon and underſtanding; I do allow, that abundance of undigeſted and abortive, many pernicious and fooliſh overtures would ariſe, and float a few minutes; but then they will die and diſappear. Becauſe, this muſt be ſaid in behalf of human kind, that common ſenſe and plain reaſon, while men are diſengaged from acquired opinions, will ever have ſome general influence upon their minds; whereas the ſpecies of folly and vice are infinite, and ſo different in every individual, that they could never procure a majority, if other corruptions did not enter to pervert mens underſtandings, and miſguide their wills.

To deſcribe how parties are bred in an aſſembly, would be a work too difficult at preſent, and perhaps not altogether ſafe. *Periculoſæ plenum opus aleæ*. Whether thoſe who are leaders, uſually arrive at that ſtation more by a ſort of inſtinct or ſecret compoſition of their nature, or influence of the ſtars, than by the poſſeſſion of any great abilities, may be a point of much diſpute: but when the leader is once fixed, there will never fail to be followers. And man is ſo apt to *imitate*, ſo much of the nature of *ſheep*, *imitatores, ſervum pecus* that whoever is ſo bold to give the firſt *great leap over the heads of thoſe about him*, tho' he be the worſt of the flock, ſhall be quickly followed by the reſt. Beſides, when parties are *once formed*, the ſtragglers look ſo ridiculous, and become

come ſo inſignificant, that they have no other way, but to run into the herd, which at leaſt will hide and protect them; and where to be much conſidered, requires only to be very violent.

BUT there is one circumſtance with relation to parties, which I take to be of all others moſt pernicious in a ſtate, and I would be glad any partizan would help me to a tolerable reaſon, that becauſe Clodius and Curio happen to agree with me in a few ſingular notions, I muſt therefore blindly follow them in all: or, to ſtate it at beſt, that becauſe Bibulus the *party-man* is perſuaded that Clodius and Curio do really propoſe the good of their country as their chief end; therefore Bibulus ſhall be wholly guided and governed by them in the means and meaſures towards it. Is it enough for Bibulus, and the reſt of the herd, to ſay without further examining, *I am of the ſide with Clodius, or I vote with Curio?* are theſe proper methods to form and make up what they think fit to call the *united wiſdom of the nation?* Is it not poſſible, that upon ſome occaſion Clodius may be bold and inſolent, borne away by his paſſion, malicious, and revengeful? That Curio may be corrupt, and expoſe to ſale his tongue, or his pen? I conceive it far below the dignity both of human nature, and human reaſon, to be engaged in any party, the moſt plauſible ſoever, upon ſuch ſervile conditions.

THIS influence of *one* upon *many*, which ſeems to be as great in a people *repreſented*, as it was of old in the commons *collective*, together with the conſequences it hath had upon the legiſlature, hath given me frequent occaſion to reflect upon what Diodorus tells us of one Charondas, a lawgiver to the Sybarites. an ancient people of Italy, who was ſo averſe from all innovation, eſpecially when it was to proceed from particular perſons, (and I ſuppoſe, that he might put it out of the power of men, fond of their own notions, to diſturb the conſtitution at their pleaſures, by advancing private ſchemes) that he provided a ſtatute, that whoever propoſed any alteration to be made, ſhould ſtep out and do it with a rope about his neck: if the matter propoſed were generally approved, then it ſhould paſs into a law: if it went in the negative, the propoſer to be immediately hanged. Great miniſters

miniſters may talk of what projects they pleaſe; but I am deceived, if a more effectual one could ever be found for taking off (as the preſent phraſe is) thoſe hot, unquiet ſpirits, who diſturb aſſemblies, and obſtruct public affairs, by gratifying their pride, their malice, their ambition, or their avarice.

THOSE, who in a late reign began the diſtinction between the *perſonal* and *politic* capacity, ſeem to have had reaſon, if they judged of princes by themſelves; for, I think, there is hardly to be found through all nature a greater difference between two things, than there is betwen a repreſenting commoner in the function of his public calling, and the ſame perſon when he acts in the common offices of life. Here he allows himſelf to be upon a level with the reſt of mortals: here he follows his own reaſon, and his own way; and rather affects a ſingularity in his actions and thoughts, than ſervilely to copy either from the wiſeſt of his neighbours. In ſhort, here his folly, and his wiſdom, his reaſon and his paſſions are all of his own growth, not the eccho or infuſion of other men. But when he is got near the walls of his aſſembly, he aſſumes and affects an entire ſett of very different airs; he conceives himſelf a being of a ſuperior nature to thoſe without, and acting in a ſphere, where the vulgar methods for the conduct of human life can be of no uſe. He is liſted in a party, where he neither knows the temper, nor deſigns, nor perhaps the perſon of his leader; but whoſe opinions he follows and maintains with a zeal and faith as violent, as a young ſcholar does thoſe of a philoſopher, whoſe ſect he is taught to profeſs. He hath neither opinions, nor thoughts, nor actions, nor talk, that he can call his own, but all conveyed to him by his leader, as wind is thro' an organ. The nouriſhment he receives, hath been not only chewed, but digeſted, before it comes into his mouth. Thus inſtructed, he follows the party right or wrong through all its ſentiments, and acquires a courage and ſtiffneſs of opinion not at all congenial with him.

THIS encourages me to hope, that during the preſent lucid interval, the members retired to their homes may *ſuſpend* a while their acquired complexions, and taught *by the* calmneſs of the ſcene and the ſeaſon, reaſſume the

native

native ſedateneſs of their temper. If this ſhould be ſo, it would be wiſe in them, as individual and private mortals, to look back a little upon the ſtorms they have *raiſed*, as well as thoſe they have *eſcaped*. To reflect, that they have been authors of a new and wonderful thing in England, which is, for a houſe of Commons to loſe the univerſal favour of the numbers they repreſent: to obſerve, how thoſe, whom they thought fit to perſecute for righteouſneſs ſake, have been openly careſſed by the people; and to remember how themſelves ſat in fear of their perſons from popular rage. Now, if they would know the ſecret of all this unprecedented proceeding in their *maſters*, they muſt not impute it to their freedom in debate, or declaring their opinions, but to that unparliamentary abuſe of *ſetting individuals upon their ſhoulders*, who were hated by God and man. For, it ſeems the maſs of the people, in ſuch conjunctures as this, have opened their eyes, and will not endure to be governed by Clodius and Curio, at the head of their Myrmidons, tho' theſe be ever ſo numerous, and compoſed of their own repreſentatives.

THIS averſion of the people againſt the late proceedings of the Commons is an accident, that, if it laſt a while, might be improved to good uſes for ſetting the balance of power a little more upon an equality than their late meaſures ſeem to promiſe or admit. This accident may be imputed to two cauſes: the firſt is an univerſal fear and apprehenſion of the greatneſs and power of France, whereof the people in general ſeem to be very much and juſtly poſſeſſed, and therefore cannot but reſent to ſee it, in ſo critical a juncture, wholly laid aſide by their miniſters, the Commons. The other cauſe is a great love and ſenſe of gratitude in the people towards their preſent King, grounded upon a long opinion and experience of his merit, as well as conceſſions to all their reaſonable deſires; ſo that it is for ſome time they have begun to ſay, and to fetch inſtances, where he hath in many things been hardly uſed. How long theſe humours may laſt, (for paſſions are momentary, and eſpecially thoſe of a multitude) or what conſequences they may produce, a little time will diſcover. But whenever it comes to paſs, that a popular aſſembly, free from ſuch obſtructions, and already

ready poſſeſſed of more power, than an equal balance will allow, ſhall continue to think they have not enough, but by cramping the hand that holds the balance, and by *impeachments* or *diſſenſions* with the nobles, endeavour ſtill for more; I cannot poſſibly ſee in the common courſe of things, how the ſame cauſes can produce different effects and conſequences among us, from what they did in Greece and Rome.

THE

The PUBLIC SPIRIT of the WHIGS, set forth in their generous encouragement of the author of the CRISIS *.

With some observations on the seasonableness, candor, erudition, and style of that treatise.

[Upon the first publication of this pamphlet, all the Scots Lords, then in London, went in a body, and complained to Queen ANNE of the affront put on them and their nation by the author of this treatise. Whereupon a proclamation was published by her Majesty, offering a reward of 300 l. to discover him. The reason for offering so small a sum was, that the Queen and ministry had no desire to have the author taken into custody.]

I CANNOT, without some envy, and a just resentment against the opposite conduct of others, reflect upon that generosity and tenderness, wherewith the heads and principal members of a struggling faction treat those

* It was written in the year 1712, by the consent, if not the encouragement, of the ministers of that æra, in answer to the Crisis by Sir Richard Steele. *Orrery.*

The noble commentator who appears in another instance to have given an account of the works of his author, from a perusal of no more than a title † in the Dublin editions, has been betrayed into mistakes, which, if he had read the piece, he would have escaped. This tract, in the title which his Lordship consulted, is said to have been written in the year 1712: but in that part of it which most deserves the notice of a critic, because it occasioned a complaint in the house of Lords, mention is made of a motion to dissolve the union, which did not happen till 1713. The complaint, which is said in the note to happen upon the

† *See the note on Voyage to Brobdingnag*, chap. 6. vol. 2. p. 115. first

who will undertake to hold a pen in their defence. And the behaviour of theſe patrons is yet the more laudable, becauſe the benefits they confer are almoſt *gratis*. If any of their labourers can ſcratch out a pamphlet, they deſire no more; there is no queſtion offered about the wit, the ſtyle, the argument. Let a pamphlet come out upon demand in a proper juncture, you ſhall be well and certainly paid; you ſhall be paid before-hand; every one of the party who is able to read, and can ſpare a ſhilling, ſhall be a ſubſcriber; ſeveral thouſands of each production ſhall be ſent among their friends thro' the kingdom; the work ſhall be reported admirable, ſublime, unanſwerable; ſhall ſerve to raiſe the ſinking clamours, and confirm the ſcandal of introducing popery and the pretender upon the Queen and her miniſters.

AMONG the preſent writers on that ſide I can recollect but three of any great diſtinction, which are the *Flying Poſt*, Mr Dunton, and the author of the Criſis †. The firſt of theſe ſeems to have been much ſunk in reputation, ſince the ſudden retreat of the only true genuine original author, Mr Ridpath, who is celebrated by the Dutch Gazetteer as one of the beſt pens in England. Mr Dunton hath been longer and more converſant in books than any of the three, as well as more voluminous in his productions: however, having employed his ſtudies in ſo great a variety of other ſubjects, he hath, I think, but lately turned his genius to politics. His famous tract, in-

firſt publication, was made the 2d of March 1713-14, and the pamphlet, according to the cuſtom of printers, was dated 1714. *Hawkeſ.*

In the ſtyle and conduct, this is one of the boldeſt, as well as one of the moſt maſterly tracts that Swift ever wrote. And I cannot help obſerving, that on whatever topic he employs his pen, the ſubject which he treats of is always ſo excellently managed, as to ſeem to have been the whole ſtudy and application of his life: ſo that he appears the greateſt maſter, thro' a grater variety of materials, than perhaps have been diſcuſſed by any other author. *Orrery.*

† Mr Steele was expelled the houſe of Commons for this pamphlet, at the very ſame time that the houſe of Lords was moved *againſt* the Dean for the reply. *Hawkeſ.*

intitled, *Neck* or *nothing*, muſt be allowed to be the ſhrewdeſt piece, and written with the moſt ſpirit of any, which hath appeared from that ſide ſince the change of the miniſtry: it is indeed a moſt cutting ſatire upon the Lord Treaſurer and Lord Bolingbroke, and I wonder none of our friends ever undertook to anſwer it. I confeſs I was at firſt of the ſame opinion with ſeveral good judges, who, from the ſtyle and manner, ſuppoſed it to have iſſued from the ſharp pen of the Earl of Nottingham; and I am ſtill apt to think it might receive his Lordſhip's laſt hand. The third and principal of this triumvirate is the author of the *Criſis*; who altho' he muſt yield to the *Flying Poſt* in knowledge of the world, and ſkill in politics, and to Mr Dunton in keenneſs of ſatire and variety of reading, hath yet other qualities enough to denominate him a writer of a ſuperior claſs to either; provided he would a little regard the propriety and diſpoſition of his words, conſult the grammatical part, and get ſome information in the ſubject he intends to handle.

OMITTING the generous countenance and encouragement that have been ſhewn to the perſons and productions of the two former authors, I ſhall here only conſider the great favour conferred upon the laſt. It hath been advertiſed for ſeveral months in *the Engliſhman* †, and other papers, that a pamphlet, called *the Criſis*, ſhould be publiſhed at a proper time in order to open the eyes of the nation. It was propoſed to be printed by ſubſcription, price a ſhilling. This was a little out of form; becauſe ſubſcriptions are uſually begged only for books of great price, and ſuch as are not likely to have a general ſale. Notice was likewiſe given of what this pamphlet ſhould contain; only an extract from certain acts of parliament relating to the ſucceſſion, which at leaſt muſt ſink nine-pence in the ſhilling, and leave but threepence for the author's political reflections; ſo that nothing very wonderful or deciſive could be reaſonably expected from this performance. But, a work was to be done, a hearty writer to be encouraged, and accordingly many thou-

† A paper written by the ſame author in favour of the preceding adminiſtration. *Hawkeſ.*

ſand copies were beſpoke. Neither could this be ſufficient; for when we expected to have our bundles delivered us, all was ſtopt; the friends to the cauſe ſprang a new project; and it was advertiſed that the Criſis could not appear, till the ladies had ſhewn their zeal againſt the Pretender, as well as the men; againſt the Pretender in the bloom of his youth, reported to be handſome, and endued with an underſtanding exactly of a ſize to pleaſe the ſex. I ſhould be glad to have ſeen a printed liſt of the fair ſubſcribers prefixed to this pamphlet; by which the Chevalier might know, he was ſo far from *pretending* to a monarchy here, that he could not ſo much as *pretend* to a miſtreſs.

AT the deſtined period, the firſt news we hear, is of a huge train of dukes, earls, viſcounts, barons, knights, eſquires, gentlemen, and others, going to Sam. Buckley's the publiſher of the Criſis to fetch home their cargoes, in order to tranſmit them by dozens, ſcores, and hundreds into the ſeveral counties, and thereby to prepare the wills and underſtandings of their friends againſt the approaching ſeſſions. Aſk any of them, whether they have read it? they will anſwer, No; but they have ſent it every where, and it will do a world of good. It is a pamphlet, and a pamphlet, they hear, againſt the miniſtry; talks of ſlavery, France, and the Pretender: they deſire no more; it will ſettle the wavering, confirm the doubtful, inſtruct the ignorant, inflame the clamorous, altho' it never be once looked into. I am told by thoſe who are expert in the trade, that the author and bookſeller of this twelve-penny treatiſe will be greater gainers, than from one edition of any folio that hath been publiſhed theſe twenty years. What needy writer would not ſolicite to work under ſuch maſters, who will pay us beforehand, take off as much of our ware as we pleaſe at our own rates, and trouble not themſelves to examine either before or after they have bought it, whether it be ſtaple or no?

BUT, in order to illuſtrate the implicite munificence of theſe noble patrons, I cannot take a more effectual method than by examining the production itſelf; by which we ſhall eaſily find that it was never intended, further than from the noiſe, the bulk, and the title of Criſis, to

do any ſervice to the factious cauſe. The entire piece conſiſts of a title page, a dedication to the clergy, a preface, an extract from certain acts of parliament, and about ten pages of dry reflections on the proceedings of the Queen and her ſervants; which his coadjutors, the Earl of Nottingham, Mr Dunton, and the Flying Poſt, had long ago ſet before us in a much clearer light.

In popiſh countries, when ſome impoſtor cries out, *A miracle! a miracle!* it is not done with a hope or intention of converting heretics, but confirming the deluded vulgar in their errors; and ſo the cry goes round without examining into the cheat. Thus the whigs among us give about the cry, *A pamphlet! a pamphlet! the criſis!* not with a view of convincing their adverſaries, but to raiſe the ſpirits of their friends, recal their ſtragglers, and unite their numbers by ſound and impudence; as bees aſſemble and cling together by the noiſe of braſs.

That no other effect could be imagined or hoped for by the publication of this timely treatiſe, will be manifeſt from ſome obvious reflexions upon the ſeveral parts of it; wherein the follies, the falſhoods, or the abſurdities, appear ſo frequent, that they may boldly contend for number with the lines.

When the hawker holds this pamphlet towards you, the firſt words you perceive are, *The Criſis*, or *a diſcourſe*, &c. The interpreter of Suidas gives four tranſlations of the word *criſis*; any of which may be as properly applied to this author's letter to the bailiff of Stockbridge†. Next, what he calls *a diſcourſe*, conſiſts only of two pages, prefixed to twenty-two more, which contain extracts from acts of parliament; for as to the twelve laſt pages, they are provided for by themſelves in the title, under the name of *ſome ſeaſonable remarks on the danger of a* popiſh *ſucceſſor*. Another circumſtance worthy of our information in the title-page is, that the crown hath been ſettled *by previous acts*. I never heard of any act of parliament that was not previous to what it enacted, unleſs

† Steele addreſſed a letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge, who appears to have been returning officer for this borough, which Steele repreſented in parliament. *Hawkeſ.*

thoſe two, by which the Earl of Strafford and Sir John Fenwick loſt their heads, may paſs for exceptions. *A diſcourſe, repreſenting from the moſt authentic records, &c.* He hath borrowed this expreſſion from ſome writer, who probably underſtood the words; but this gentleman hath altogether miſapplied them; and under favour he is wholly miſtaken: for a heap of extracts from ſeveral acts of parliament cannot be called a diſcourſe; neither do I believe he copied them from the moſt authentic records, which, as I take it, are lodged in the Tower, but out of ſome common printed copy. I grant there is nothing material in all this, further than to ſhew the generoſity of our adverſaries in encouraging a writer, who cannot furniſh out ſo much as a title-page with propriety or common ſenſe.

NEXT follows the dedication to the clergy of the church of England, wherein the modeſty and the meaning of the firſt paragraphs are hardly to be matched. He tells them, he hath made a comment upon the acts of ſettlement, *which he* lays before them. and conjures them to recommend in their writings and diſcourſes to their fellow ſubjects: *and he doth all this*, out of a juſt deference to their great power and influence. This is the right whig ſcheme of directing the clergy what to preach. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury's juriſdiction extends no farther than over his own province; but the author of the Criſis conſtitutes himſelf Vicar general over the whole clergy of the church of England. The biſhops in their letters or ſpeeches to their own clergy proceed no further than to exhortation, but this writer conjures the whole clergy or the church to recommend his comment upon the laws of the land, in their writings and diſcourſes. I would fain know, who made him a commentator upon the laws of the land: after which it will be time enough to aſk him, by what authority he directs the clergy to recommend his comments from the pulpit or the preſs?

HE tells the clergy there are two circumſtances which place the minds of the people under their direction; the firſt circumſtance is their education; the ſecond circumſtance is the tenths of our lands. This laſt, according to the Latin phraſe, is ſpoken *ad invidiam*; for he knows *well* enough, they have not a twentieth: but if you take it *in* his own way, the landlord has nine parts in ten of the

the people's minds under his direction. Upon this rock the author before us is perpetually ſplitting, as often as he ventures out beyond the narrow bounds of his literature. He hath a confuſed remembrance of words ſince he left the univerſity, but hath loſt half their meaning, and puts them together with no regard, except to their cadence; as I remember a fellow nailed up maps in a gentleman's cloſet. ſome ſidling, others upſide down, the better to adjuſt them to the panels.

I am ſenſible it is of little conſequence to their cauſe, whether this defender of it underſtands grammar or no; and if what he would fain ſay, diſcovered him to be a well-wiſher to reaſon or truth, I would be ready to make large allowances. But when, with great difficulty, I deſcry a compoſition of rancour and falſhood, intermixed with plauſible nonſenſe, I feel a ſtruggle between contempt and indignation at ſeeing the character of a *cenſor*, a *guardian*, an *Engliſhman*, a *commentator* on the *laws*, an *inſtructor* of the *clergy*, aſſumed by a child of obſcurity without one ſingle qualification to ſupport them.

THIS writer, who either affects, or is commanded of late to copy after the Bp of Sarum, hath, out of the pregnancy of his invention, found out an old way of inſinuating the groſſeſt reflections under the appearance of admonitions; and is ſo judicious a follower of the prelate, that he taxes the clergy for "inflaming their peo-"ple with apprehenſions of danger to them and their "conſtitution from men, who are innocent of ſuch de-"ſigns;" when he muſt needs confeſs, the whole *deſign* of his pamphlet is *to inflame the people with apprehenſions of danger* from the preſent miniſtry, whom *we* believe to be at leaſt as *innocent men* as the laſt.

WHAT ſhall I ſay to a pamphlet, where the malice and falſhood of every line would require an anſwer, and where the dulneſs and abſurdities will not deſerve one?

BY his pretending to have always maintained an inviolable reſpect to the clergy he would inſinuate, that thoſe papers among the *Tatlers* and *Spectators*, where the whole order is abuſed, were not his own. I will appeal to all who knew the flatneſs of his ſtyle, and the barrenneſs of his invention, whether he doth not groſly prevaricate? was he ever able to walk without leading ſtrings, or *ſwim without bladders*, without being diſcovered by his hobbling

hobbling and his ſinking? hath he adhered to his character in his paper called the *Engliſhman*, whereof he is allowed to be ſole author without any competition? what does he think of the letter ſigned by himſelf, which relates to Moleſworth *, in whoſe defence he affronts the whole convocation of Ireland?

IT is a wiſe maxim, that becauſe the clergy are no civil lawyers, they ought not to preach obedience to governors; and therefore they ought not to preach temperance, becauſe they are no phyſicians. Examine all this author's writings, and then point me out a divine who knoweth leſs of the conſtitution of England than he; witneſs thoſe many egregious blunders in his late papers, where he pretended to dabble in the ſubject.

BUT the clergy have, it ſeems, imbibed their notions of power and obedience, abhorrent from our laws, *from the pompous ideas of imperial greatneſs and the ſubmiſſion to abſolute emperors*. This is groſs ignorance, below a ſchoolboy in his Lucius Florus. The Roman hiſtory wherein lads are inſtructed, reacheth little above eight hundred years, and the authors do every where inſtil republican principles; and from the account of nine in twelve of the firſt emperors we learn to have a deteſtation againſt tyranny. The Greeks carry this point yet a great deal higher, which none can be ignorant of, who hath read or heard them quoted. This gave Hobbes the occaſion of advancing a poſition directly contrary; that the youth of England were corrupted in their political principles by reading the hiſtories of Rome and Greece, which, having been written under republics, taught the readers to have ill notions of monarchy. In this aſſertion there was ſomething ſpecious, but that advanced by the Criſis could only iſſue from the profoundeſt ignorance.

BUT, would you know his ſcheme of education for young

* The Right Honourable Robert Moleſworth, Eſq; one of the privy council, and member of the houſe of Commons, created a Peer by K. George I. The lower houſe of convocation there preferred a complaint againſt him for diſreſpectful words, which being repreſented in England, he was removed from the council: to juſtify him againſt this complaint, was the ſubject of Steele's letter. *Hawkeſ.*

young gentlemen at the univerſity? it is, That they ſhould ſpend their time in peruſing thoſe acts of parliament, whereof his pamphlet is an extract, which "if it "had been done, the kingdom would not be in its pre- "ſent condition, but every member ſent into the world "thus inſtructed, ſince the revolution, would have been "an advocate for our rights and liberties."

HERE now is a project for getting more money by the Criſis; to have it read by tutors in the univerſities. I thoroughly agree with him, that if our ſtudents had been thus employed for twenty years paſt, *the kingdom had not been in its preſent condition*: but we have too many of ſuch proficients already among the young nobility and gentry, who have gathered up their politics from chocolate houſes, and factious clubs, and who, if they had ſpent their time in hard ſtudy at Oxford or Cambridge, we might indeed have ſaid, that the factious part of this kingdom *had not been in its preſent condition*, or have ſuffered themſelves to be taught, that a few acts of parliament, relating to the ſucceſſion, are preferable to all other *civil inſtitutions* whatſoever. Neither did I ever before hear, that an act of parliament relating to one particular point could be called a civil conſtitution.

HE ſpends almoſt a quarto page in telling the clergy, that they will be certainly perjured if they bring in the Pretender, whom they have abjured; and he wiſely reminds them, that they have ſworn without equivocation or mental reſervation; otherwiſe the clergy might think, that as ſoon as they received the Pretender, and turned Papiſts, they would be free from their oath.

THIS honeſt, civil, ingenious gentleman knows in his conſcience, that there are not ten clergymen in England, except non-jurors, who do not abhor the thoughts of the Pretender reigning over us, much more than himſelf. But this is the ſpittle of the Bp of Sarum * which our author licks up, and ſwallows, and then coughs out again with an addition of his own phlegm. I would fain ſuppoſe the body of the clergy were to return an anſwer by one of their members to theſe worthy counſellors. I conceive it might be in the following terms:

My

* *Mr Gilbert Burnet.*

My Lord and Gentleman,

'THE clergy command me to give you thanks for 'your advice; and if they knew any crimes, from which 'either of you were as free, as they are from thoſe 'which you ſo earneſtly exhort them to avoid, they 'would return your favour as near as poſſible in the 'ſame ſtyle and manner. However, that your advice 'may not be wholly loſt, particularly that part of it 'which relates to the Pretender, they deſire you would 'apply it to more proper perſons. Look among your 'own leaders; examine which of them engaged in a 'plot to reſtore the late K. James, and received par-'dons under his ſeal; examine which of them have been 'ſince tampering with his pretended ſon, and, to gratify 'their ambition, their avarice, their malice, and re-'venge, are now willing to reſtore him at the expence 'of the religion and liberty of their country. Retire, 'good my Lord, with your pupil, and let us hear no 'more of thoſe hypocritical inſinuations, leſt the Queen 'and miniſters, who have been hitherto content with 'only *diſappointing* the lurking villanies of your faction, 'may be at laſt provoked to *expoſe* them.'

BUT his reſpect for the clergy is ſuch, that he doth not inſinuate as if they really had theſe evil diſpoſitions; he only *inſinuates*, that they give *too much cauſe* for ſuch *inſinuations*.

I will, upon occaſion, ſtrip ſome of his *inſinuations* from their generality and ſoleciſms, and drag them into the light. His dedication to the clergy is full of them, becauſe here he endeavours to mold up his rancour and civility together; by which conſtraint he is obliged to ſhorten his paragraphs, and to place them in ſuch a light that they obſcure one another. Suppoſing therefore, that I have ſcraped off his good manners in order to come at his meaning, which lies under; he tells the clergy, that the favour of the QUEEN and her miniſters is but a *colour of zeal towards them*; that the people were deluded by a groundleſs cry of the church's danger at Sacheverel's trial; that the clergy, as they are *men of ſenſe and honour*, ought to preach this truth to their ſeveral congregations; and let them know, that the true

deſign of the preſent men in power in that, and all their proceedings ſince in favour of the church, was to bring in Popery, France, and the Pretender, and to enſlave all Europe, contrary to the "laws of our country, the power "of the legiſlature, the faith of nations, and the honour "of God."

I cannot ſee why the clergy, as men of ſenſe and men of honour (for he appeals not to them as men of religion) ſhould not be allowed to know when they are in danger, and be able to gueſs whence it comes, and who are their protectors. The deſign of their deſtruction indeed may have been projected in the dark; but when all was ripe, their enemies proceeded to ſo many overt-acts in the face of the nation, that it was obvious to the meaneſt people, who wanted no other motives to rouſe them. On the other ſide, can this author, or the wiſeſt of his faction, aſſign one ſingle act of the preſent miniſtry any way tending towards bringing in the Pretender, or to weaken the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover? Obſerve then the reaſonableneſs of this gentleman's advice: the clergy, the gentry, and the common people had the utmoſt apprehenſions of danger to the church under the late miniſtry; yet then it was the greateſt impiety to inflame the people with any ſuch apprehenſions. His danger of a popiſh ſucceſſor from any ſteps of the preſent miniſtry is an artificial calumny, raiſed and ſpread againſt the conviction of the inventors pretended to be believed only by thoſe, who abhor the conſtitution in church and ſtate; an obdurate faction, who compaſs heaven and earth to reſtore themſelves upon the ruin of their country; yet here our author exhorts the clergy to preach up this imaginary danger to their people, and diſturb the public peace with his ſtrained ſeditious comments.

But how comes this gracious licence to the clergy from the *whigs* to concern themſelves with politics of any ſort, altho' it be only the gloſſes and comments of Mr Steele? The ſpeeches of the managers at Sacheverel's trial, particularly thoſe of Stanhope, Lechmere, King, Parker, and ſome others, * ſeemed to deliver a different doctrine. Nay, this very dedication complains of ſome

* Theſe perſons were created peers by K. George I.

in holy orders, who have made the conſtitution of their country (in which and the coptic Mr Steele is equally ſkilled) a very little part of their ſtudy, and yet made obedience and government the frequent ſubjects of their diſcourſes. This difficulty is eaſily ſolved; for by politics they mean obedience. Mr Hoadly *, who is a champion for reſiſtance, was never charged with meddling out of his function: Hugh Peters, and his brethren, in the times of uſurpation had full liberty to preach up ſedition and rebellion; and ſo here Mr Steele iſſues out his licence to the clergy to preach up the danger of a popiſh Pretender in defiance of the Queen and her adminiſtration.

EVERY whiffler in a laced coat, who frequents the chocolate-houſe, and is able to ſpell the title of a pamphlet, ſhall talk of the conſtitution with as much plauſibility as this very ſolemn writer, and with as good a grace blame the clergy for meddling with politics, which they do not underſtand. I have known many of theſe able politicians furniſhed before they were of age with all the neceſſary topics of their faction, and by the help of about twenty polyſyllables capable of maintaining an argument, that would ſhine in the Criſis; whoſe author gathered up his little ſtock from the ſame ſchools, and hath written from no other fund.

BUT after all, it is not clear to me, whether this gentleman addreſſeth himſelf to the clergy of England in general, or only to thoſe very few (hardly enough, in caſe of a change, to ſupply the mortality of thoſe ſelf-denying prelates he celebrates) who are in his principles, and among theſe only ſuch as live in and about London; which probably will reduce the number to about half a dozen at moſt. I ſhould incline to gueſs the latter; becauſe he tells them they are ſurrounded by a learned, wealthy, knowing gentry, who know with what firmneſs, ſelf-denial, and charity the biſhops adhered to the public cauſe, and what contumelies thoſe clergymen have undergone, &c. who adhered to the cauſe of truth. By thoſe terms, the public cauſe, and the cauſe of truth, he underſtand

* Dr Benjamin Hoadly, created Biſhop of Bangor by K. *George* I. in 1715; tranſlated to Hereford in 1721, to Salisbury *in 1723*, and to Wincheſter in 1734.

the cauſe of the whigs, in oppoſition to the QUEEN and her ſervants: therefore by the *learned*, *wealthy*, *and knowing gentry* he muſt underſtand the *bank* and *Eaſt-India company*, and thoſe other merchants or citizens within the bills of mortality, who have been ſtrenuous againſt the church and crown, and whoſe ſpirit of faction hath lately got the better of their intereſt. For let him ſearch all the reſt of the kingdom, he will find the ſurrounded clergy, and the ſurrounding gentry wholly ſtrangers to the merits of thoſe prelates; and adhering to a very different cauſe of truth, as will ſoon, I hope, be manifeſt by a fair appeal to the repreſentatives of both.

IT was very unneceſſary in this writer to beſpeak the treatment of contempt and deriſion, which the clergy are to expect from his faction, whenever they come into power. I believe that venerable body is in very little concern after what manner their moſt mortal enemies intend to treat them, whenever it ſhall pleaſe God for our ſins to viſit us with ſo fatal an event; which I hope it will be the united endeavours both of clergy and laity to hinder. It would be ſome ſupport to this hope, if I could have any opinion of his predicting talent (which ſome have aſcribed to people of this author's character) where he tells us, that *noiſe and wrath will not always paſs for zeal*. What other inſtances of zeal hath this gentleman or the reſt of his party been able to produce? if clamour be *noiſe*, it is but opening our ears to know from what ſide it comes; and if ſedition, ſcurrility, ſlander and calumny be the fruit of *wrath*, read the pamphlets and papers iſſuing from the *zealots* of that faction, or viſit their clubs and coffee-houſes, in order to form a judgment of the tree.

WHEN Mr Steele tells us, we have religion that wants no ſupport from the enlargement of ſecular power, but is well ſupported by the wiſdom and piety of its preachers, and its own native truth: it would be good to know what religion he profeſſeth: for the clergy to whom he ſpeaks will never allow him a member of the church of England. They cannot agree, that the truth of the goſpel, and the piety and wiſdom of its preachers, are a ſufficient ſupport in an evil age againſt infidelity, faction, and vice without the aſſiſtance of ſecular power; unleſs

God would pleaſe to confer the gift of miracles on thoſe who wait at the altar. I believe they venture to go a little further, and think, that upon ſome occaſions they want a little enlargement of aſſiſtance from the ſecular power againſt Atheiſts, Deiſts, Socinians, and other heretics. Every firſt Sunday in lent a part of the Liturgy is read to the people, in the preface to which the church declares her wiſhes for the reſtoring of that diſcipline ſhe formerly had, and which, for ſome years paſt, hath been more wanted than ever. But of this no more, leſt it might inſinuate jealouſies between the clergy and laity; which, the author tells us, is the policy of vain ambitious men among the former, in hopes to derive from their order a veneration they cannot deſerve from their virtue. If this be their method for procuring veneration, it is the moſt ſingular that ever was thought on; and the clergy would then indeed have no more to do with politics of any ſort, than Mr Steele or his faction will allow them.

HAVING thus toiled thro' his dedication, I proceed to conſider his preface, which, half conſiſting of quotation, will be ſo much the ſooner got thro'. It is a very unfair thing in any writer to employ his *ignorance* and *malice* together; becauſe it gives his anſwerer double work: it is like the ſort of ſophiſtry that the logicians call *two mediums*, which are never allowed in the ſame ſyllogiſm. A writer with a weak head, and a corrupt heart, is an over match for any ſingle pen; like a hireling jade, dull and vicious, hardly able to ſtir, yet offering at every turn to kick.

HE begins his preface with ſuch an account of the original of power, and the nature of civil inſtitutions, as I am confident was never once imagined by any writer upon government, from Plato to Mr Locke. Give me leave to tranſcribe his firſt paragraph. 'I never ſaw an unruly 'croud of people cool by degrees into temper, but it gave 'me an idea of the original of power, and the nature of 'civil inſtitutions. One particular man has uſually in 'thoſe caſes, from the dignity of his appearance, or other 'qualities known or imagined by the multitude, been re'ceived into ſudden favour and authority; the occaſion 'of their difference has been repreſented to him, and 'the matter referred to his deciſion.'

I have known a poet, who never was out of England, introduce a fact by way of ſimile, which could probably no where happen nearer than in the plains of Lydia; and begin with, *ſo have I ſeen* †. Such a fiction, I ſuppoſe, may be juſtified by poetical licence; yet Virgil is much more modeſt. This paragraph of Mr Steele's, which he ſets down as an obſervation of his own, is a miſerable mangled tranſlation of ſix verſes out of that famous poet, who ſpeaks after this manner: 'As when a ſedition ariſes in a 'great multitude, &c. then if they ſee a wiſe grave man, '&c.' Virgil who lived but a little after the ruin of the Roman republic, where ſeditions often happened, and the force of oratory was great among the people, made uſe of a ſimile, which Mr Steele turns into a fact after ſuch a manner, as if he had ſeen it an hundred times; and builds upon it a ſyſtem of the origin of government. When the vulgar here in England aſſemble in a riotous manner (which is not very frequent of late years) the prince takes a much more effectual way than that of ſending orators to appeaſe them: but Mr Steele imagines ſuch a croud of people as this, where there is no government at all; their *unruline ſs* quelled, and their paſſions *cooled* by a particular man, whoſe great qualities they had known before. Such an aſſembly muſt have riſen ſuddenly from the earth, and the *man of authority* dropt from the clouds; for without ſome previous form of government no ſuch croud did ever yet aſſemble, or could poſſibly be acquainted with the merits and dignity of any *particular man* among them. But to purſue his ſcheme; this man of authority, who *cools* the *croud* by degrees, and to whom they all appeal, muſt of neceſſity prove either an open or *clandeſtine tyrant*. *A clandeſtine tyrant* I take to be a king of Brentford, who keeps his army in diſguiſe; and whenever he happens either to die naturally, be knock'd on the head, or depoſed, the people calmly take further meaſures, and improve upon what was begun under his unlimited power. All this our author tells us, with extreme propriety, is what ſeems reaſonable to common ſenſe; that is, in other words, it ſeems *reaſonable* to *reaſon*. This is what he calls giving an idea of the original of power, and the nature of civil inſtitution. To

† *See the* Περὶ Βάθους, vol. 8. p. 68.

which I anſwer with great phlegm, that I defy any man alive to ſhew me, in double the number of lines, altho' writ by the ſame author, ſuch a complicated ignorance in hiſtory, human nature, or politics, as well as in the ordinary proprieties of thought or of ſtyle.

BUT it ſeems theſe profound ſpeculations were only premiſed to introduce ſome quotations in favour of reſiſtance. What hath reſiſtance to do with the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover, that the whig writers ſhould perpetually affect to tag them together? I can conceive nothing elſe, but that their hatred to the Queen and miniſtry puts them upon thoughts of introducing the ſucceſſor by another revolution. Are caſes of extreme neceſſity to be produced as common maxims, by which we are always to proceed? Should not theſe gentlemen ſometimes inculcate the general rule of obedience, and not always the exception of reſiſtance? ſince the former hath been the perpetual dictate of all laws both divine and civil, and the latter is ſtill in diſpute.

I ſhall meddle with none of the paſſages he cites to prove the lawfulneſs of reſiſting princes, except that from the preſent Lord Chancellor's ſpeech * in defence of Dr Sacheverel: that there are extraordinary caſes, caſes of neceſſity, which are implied, altho' not expreſſed, in the general rule [of obedience.] Theſe words, very clear in themſelves, Mr Steele explains into nonſenſe; which in any other author I ſhould ſuſpect to have been intended as a reflection upon as great a perſon as ever filled or adorned that high ſtation: but I am ſo well acquainted with his pen, that I much more wonder how it can trace out a true quotation than a falſe comment. To ſee him treat my Lord Harcourt with ſo much civility looks indeed a little ſuſpicious, and as if he had malice in his heart. He calls his Lordſhip a very great man, and a great living authority; places himſelf in company with Gen. Stanhope and Mr Hoadley; and, in ſhort, takes the moſt effectual method in his power of ruining his Lordſhip in the opinion of every man, who is wiſe or good.

I

* Sir Simon Harcourt, who, at the time of Sacheverel's trial, had reſigned his place of Attorney-General, which he afterwards accepted again; upon the change of the miniſtry, he was made Lord-Keeper, and in 1711 created a Baron. Howhaſ.

I can only tell my Lord Harcourt for his comfort, that these praises are encumbered with the doctrine of resistance, and the true revolution-principles; and provided he will not allow Mr Steele for his commentator, he may hope to recover the honour of being libelled again, as well as his sovereign and fellow-servants.

We now come to the Crisis; where we meet with two pages by way of introduction to those extracts from acts of parliament, that constitute the body of his pamphlet. This introduction begins with a definition of liberty, and then proceeds in a panegyric upon that great blessing. His panegyric is made up of half a dozen shreds, like a school-boy's theme, beaten general topics, where any other man alive might wander securely; but this politician, by venturing to vary the good old phrases, and give them a new turn, commits an hundred solecisms and absurdities. The weighty truths, which he endeavours to press upon his reader, are such as these. "That liberty "is a very good thing; that without liberty we cannot "be free; that health is good, and strength is good, but "liberty is better than either; that no man can be happy without the liberty of doing whatever his own mind "tells him is best; that men of quality love liberty, and "common people love liberty;" even women and children love liberty; and you cannot please them better than by letting them do what they please. Had Mr Steele contented himself to deliver these and the like maxims in such intelligible terms, I could have found where we agreed, and where we differed. But let us hear some of these axioms, as he hath involved them. "We cannot "possess our souls with pleasure and satisfaction, except "we preserve in ourselves that inestimable blessing, which "we call liberty. By liberty I desire to be understood "to mean the happiness of men's living, &c. — The "true life of man consists in conducting it according to "his own just sentiments and innocent inclinations—— "Man's being is degraded below that of a free agent, "when his affections and passions are no longer governed by the dictates of his own mind.—— Without liberty our health (among other things) may be at the "will of a tyrant employed to our own ruin and that of "our fellow creatures." If there be any of these maxims

which is not groſſy defective in truth, in ſenſe, or in grammar, I will allow them to paſs for uncontroulable. By the firſt, omitting the pedantry of the whole expreſſion, there are not above one or two nations in the world, where any one man can poſſeſs his ſoul with pleaſure and ſatisfaction. In the ſecond, he deſires to be underſtood to mean; that is, he deſires to be meant to mean, or to be underſtood to underſtand. In the third, the life of man conſiſts in conducting his life. In the fourth he affirms, that men's beings are degraded, when their paſſions are no longer governed by the dictates of their own minds; directly contrary to the leſſons of all moraliſts and legiſlators; who agree unanimouſly that the paſſions of men muſt be under the government of reaſon and law; neither are laws of any other uſe than to correct the irregularity of our affections. By the laſt, our health is ruinous to ourſelves and other men when a tyrant pleaſes; which I leave to him to make out.

I cannot ſufficiently commend our anceſtors for tranſmitting to us the bleſſing of liberty; yet having laid out their blood and treaſure upon the purchaſe, I do not ſee how they acted parſimonioufly; becauſe I can conceive nothing more generous than that of employing our blood and treaſure for the ſervice of others. But I am ſuddenly ſtruck with the thought, that I have found his meaning; our anceſtors acted parſimonioufly, becauſe they only ſpent their own treaſure for the good of their poſterity; whereas we ſquandered away the treaſures of our poſterity too; but whether they will be thankful, and think it was done for the preſervation of their liberty, muſt be left to themſelves for a deciſion.

I verily believe, altho' I could not prove it in Weſtminſter hall before a Lord Chief Juſtice, that by enemies to our conſtitution, and enemies to our preſent eſtabliſhment, Mr Steele would deſire to be underſtood to mean my Lord Treaſurer and the reſt of the miniſtry: by thoſe who are grown ſupine in proportion to the danger, to which our liberty is every day more expoſed, I ſhould gueſs he means the tories: and by honeſt men, who ought to look up with a ſpirit that becomes honeſty, he underſtands the whigs. I likewiſe believe he would take it ill, or think

me

me ſtupid, if I did not thus expound him. I ſay then, that according to this expoſition, the four great officers of ſtate, together with the reſt of the cabinet-council (except the Archbiſhop of Canterbury*) are 'enemies to 'our eſtabliſhment, making artful and open attacks upon 'our conſtitution, and are now practiſing indirect arts, and 'mean ſubtilities to weaken the ſecurity of thoſe acts of 'parliament' for ſettling the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover. The firſt and moſt notorious of theſe criminals is, Robert Harely, Earl of Oxford, Lord High Treaſurer, who is reputed to be chief miniſter: the ſecond is, James Butler, Duke of Ormonde, who commands the army, and deſigns to employ it in bringing over the Pretender: the third is, Henry St John, Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke, Secretary of ſtate, who muſt be ſuppoſed to hold a conſtant correſpondence at the court of Bar le Duc, as the late Earl of Godolphin did with that at St Germains: and to avoid tediouſneſs, Mr Bromley †, and the reſt, are employed in their ſeveral diſtricts to the ſame end. Theſe are the opinions which Mr Steele and his faction, under the direction of their leaders, are endeavouring, with all their might, to propagate among the people of England concerning the preſent miniſtry; with what reſervation to the honour, wiſdom, or juſtice of the QUEEN, I cannot determine; who, by her own free choice, after long experience of their abilities and integrity, and in compliance to the general wiſhes of her people, called them to her ſervice. Such an accuſation againſt perſons in ſo high truſt ſhould require, I think, at leaſt one ſingle over-act to make it good. If there be no other choice of perſons fit to ſerve the crown without danger from the Pretender, except among thoſe who are called the whig-party, the Hanover ſucceſſion is then indeed in a very deſperate ſtate: that illuſtrious family will have almoſt nine in ten of the kingdom againſt it, and thoſe principally of the landed intereſt; which is moſt to be depended upon in ſuch a nation as ours.

I have now got as far as his extracts, which I ſhall not be at the pains of comparing with the originals, but ſuppoſe

* Dr Tenniſon.

† Speaker of the houſe of Commons.

poſe he hath gotten them fairly tranſcribed: I only think, that whoever is patentee for printing acts of parliament may have a very fair action againſt him for invaſion of property: but this is none of my buſineſs to inquire into.

AFTER two and twenty pages ſpent in reciting acts of parliament, *he deſires leave to repeat the hiſtory and progreſs of the union*; upon which I have ſome few things to obſerve.

THIS *work*, he tells us, *was unſucceſsfully attempted by ſeveral of her Maj ſty's predeceſſors*; altho' I do not remember * it was ever thought on by any except K. James I. and the late K. William. I have read indeed that ſome ſmall overtures were made by the former of theſe Princes towards an union between the two kingdoms, but rejected with indignation and contempt by the Engliſh: and the hiſtorian tells us, that how degenerate and corrupt ſoever the court and parliament then were, they would not give ear to ſo infamous a propoſal. I do not find, that any of the ſucceeding princes before the revolution ever reſumed the deſign; becauſe it was a project for which there could not poſſibly be aſſigned the leaſt reaſon or neceſſity: for I defy any mortal to name one ſingle advantage that England could ever expect from ſuch an union.

BUT towards the end of the late King's reign, upon apprehenſions of the want of iſſue from him or the Princeſs Anne, a propoſition for uniting both kingdoms was begun; becauſe Scotland had not ſettled their crown upon the houſe of Hanover, but left themſelves at large in hopes to make their advantage; and it was thought highly dangerous to leave that part of the iſland, inhabited by a poor fierce northern people, at liberty to put themſelves under a different king. However, the oppoſition to this work was ſo great, that it could not be overcome until ſome time after her preſent Majeſty came to the crown; when by the weakneſs or corruption of a certain miniſter, ſince dead, an act of parliament was obtained for the Scots, which gave them leave to arm themſelves †; and ſo the

* The author's memory failed him a little in this aſſertion, as one of his anſwerers obſerved.

† See the Examiner, No. XIX. at the end, vol. 3.

the union became neceſſary, not for an actual good it could poſſibly do us, but to avoid a probable evil; and at the ſame time ſave an obnoxious miniſter's head; who was ſo wiſe as to take the firſt opportunity of procuring a general pardon by act of parliament, becauſe he could not, with ſo much decency and ſafety, deſire a particular one for himſelf. Theſe facts are well enough known to the whole kingdom. And I remember, diſcourſing above ſix years ago with the moſt conſiderable * perſon of the adverſe party, and a great promoter of the union, he frankly owned to me, that this neceſſity, brought upon us by the wrong management of the Earl of Godolphin, was the only cauſe of the union.

THEREFORE I am ready to grant two points to the author of the Criſis: *firſt*, That the union became neceſſary for the cauſe above related; becauſe it prevented this iſland from being governed by two kings; which England would never have ſuffered; and it might probably have coſt us a war of a year or two to reduce the Scots. *Secondly*, That it would be dangerous to break this union, at leaſt in this juncture, while there is a Pretender abroad, who might probably lay hold of ſuch an opportunity. And this made me wonder a little at the ſpirit of faction laſt ſummer among ſome people, who having been the great promoters of the *union*, and ſeveral of them the principal gainers by it †, could yet proceed ſo far as to propoſe in the houſe of Lords, that it ſhould be diſſolved; while at the ſame time thoſe peers, who had ever oppoſed it in the beginning, were then for preſerving it, upon the reaſon I have juſt aſſigned, and which the author of the Criſis hath likewiſe taken notice of.

BUT

* Lord Somers.

† The Duke of Argyle, who zealouſly promoted the union, the Earl of Mar, Mr Lockhart, and Mr Cockburn, having been deputed on purpoſe, remonſtrated to the Queen againſt the malt-tax, which they ſaid would probably prompt the Scots to declare the union diſſolved. The Earl of Findlater ſoon after moved the houſe of Lords, for leave to bring in a bill for diſſolving the union. He was ſeconded by the Earl of Mar, and ſupported by Lord Eglington, the Earl of Hay, the Duke of Argyle, and others. *Hawkeſ.*

BUT when he tells us 'the Engliſhmen ought, in genero-'ſity, to be more particularly careful in preſerving this uni-'on,' he argues like himſelf. *The late kingdom of Scotland*, ſaith he, *had as numerous a nobility as England*, &c. They had indeed; and to that we owe one of the great and neceſſary evils of the union upon the foot it now ſtands. Their nobility is indeed ſo numerous, that the whole revenues of their country would be hardly able to maintain them according to the dignity of their titles; and what is infinitely worſe, they are never likely to be extinct until the laſt period of all things; becauſe the greateſt part of them deſcend to heirs general. I imagine a perſon of quality prevailed on to marry a woman much his inferior, and without a groat to her fortune, and her friends arguing ſhe was as good as her huſband, becauſe ſhe brought him as numerous a family of relations and ſervants as ſhe found in his houſe. Scotland, in the taxes, is obliged to contribute one penny for every forty pence laid upon England; and the repreſentatives they ſend to parliament are about a thirteenth. Every other Scots peer hath all the privileges of an Engliſh one except that of ſitting in parliament, and even precedence before all of the ſame title that ſhould be created for the time to come. The penſions and employments poſſeſſed by the natives of that country now among us do amount to more than the whole body of their nobility ever ſpent at home; and all the money they raiſe upon the public is hardly ſufficient to defray their civil and military liſts. I could point out ſome with great titles, who affected to appear very vigorous for diſſolving the union, altho' their whole revenues before that period would have ill maintained a Welſh juſtice of the peace; and have ſince gathered more money than ever any Scotſman, who had not travelled, could form an idea of.

I have only one thing more to ſay upon occaſion of the union act; which is, that the author of the Criſis may be fairly proved, from his own citations, to be guilty of HIGH TREASON. In a paper of his called the Engliſhman, of October 29th, there is an advertiſement about taking in ſubſcriptions for printing the Criſis, where the title is publiſhed at length with the following clauſe, which the author thought fit to drop in the publication; [*and that*

no power on earth can bar, alter, or make void the preſent ſettlement of the crown, &c. by Richard Steele.] In his extract of an act of parliament made ſince the union, it appears to be "high treaſon for any perſon, by writing "or printing, to maintain and affirm, that the Kings "or Queens of this realm, with and by the authority "of parliament, are not able to make laws and ſtatutes "of ſufficient force and validity to limit and bind the "crown, and the deſcent, limitation, inheritance, and "government thereof." This act being ſubſequent to the ſettlement of the crown, confirmed at the union, it is probable ſome friend of the author adviſed him to leave out thoſe treaſonable words in the printed title-page, which he had before publiſhed in the *advertiſement*; and accordingly we find, that in the treatiſe itſelf, he only "offers it to every good ſubject's conſideration, whether "this article of the ſettlement of the crown is not as firm "as the union itſelf, and as the ſettlement of Epiſcopa-"cy in England, &c." And he thinks the *Scots underſtood it ſo, that the ſucceſſion to the crown was never to be controverted.*

THESE I take to be only treaſonable inſinuations; but the advertiſement before mentioned is actually high treaſon; for which the author ought to be proſecuted, if that would avail any thing under a juriſdiction where curſing the Queen is not above the penalty of twenty merks.

NOTHING is more notorious than that the whigs of late years, both in their writings and diſcourſes, have affected, upon all occaſions, to allow the legitimacy of the Pretender. This makes me a little wonder to ſee our author labouring to prove the contrary, by producing all the popular chat of thoſe times, and other ſolid arguments from Fuller's narrative: but it muſt be ſuppoſed, that this gentleman acts by the commands of his ſuperiors, who have thought fit at this juncture to iſſue out new orders, for reaſons beſt known to themſelves. I wiſh they had been more clear in their directions to him upon that weighty point, whether the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover be alterable or no. I have obſerved where, in his former pages, he gives it in the negative; but in the turning of a leaf, he hath wholly changed his mind. He tells us, "he wonders there can

"be

" be found any Briton weak enough to contend againſt a " power in their own nation, which is practiſed in a much " greater degree in other ſtates: *and* how hard it is, that " Britain ſhould be debarred the privilege of eſtabliſhing " its own ſecurity by relinquiſhing only thoſe branches of " the royal line, which threaten it with deſtruction; " whilſt other nations never ſcruple upon leſs occaſions " to go much greater lengths;" of which he produceth inſtances in France, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia; and then adds, " Can Great Britain help to advance men to " other thrones, and have no power in limiting its " own?" How can a ſenator, capable of doing honour to Sir Thomas Hammer, be guilty of ſuch ridiculous inconſiſtencies? The author of the *Conduct of the allies*, ſays he, hath dared to drop inſinuations about altering the ſucceſſion. The author of the *Conduct of the allies* writes ſenſe and Engliſh; neither of which the author of the Criſis underſtands. The former thinks it " wrong " in point of policy to call in a foreign power to be gua- " rantee of our ſucceſſion, becauſe it puts it out of the " power of our own legiſlature to change our ſucceſſion " without the conſent of that Prince or State, who is " guarantee, whatever neceſſity may happen in future " times." Now, if it be high treaſon to affirm by writing, that the legiſlature hath no ſuch power; and if Mr Steele thinks it ſtrange, that Britain ſhould be debarred this privilege, what could be the crime of putting ſuch a caſe, that in future ages a neceſſity might happen of limiting the ſucceſſion, as well as it hath happened already?

WHEN Mr Steele reflects upon the many ſolemn, ſtrong barriers (to our ſucceſſion) of laws and oaths, &c. he thinks all fear vaniſheth before them. I think ſo too, provided the epithet *ſolemn* goes for nothing; becauſe, altho' I have often heard of a ſolemn day, a ſolemn feaſt, and a ſolemn coxcomb, yet I can conceive no idea to myſelf of a ſolemn barrier. However, be that as it will, his thoughts, it ſeems, " will not let him reſt, " but, before he is aware, he aſks himſelf ſeveral que- " ſtions;" and ſince he cannot reſolve them, I will endeavour to give him what ſatisfaction I am able. The *firſt is*, " What are the marks of a laſting ſecurity?" To which I anſwer, that the ſigns of it in a kingdom or

ſtate are, firſt. good laws; and ſecondly, thoſe laws well executed; we are pretty well provided with the former, but extremely defective in the latter.—Secondly, 'What 'are our tempers and our hearts at home?' If by *ours* he means thoſe of himſelf and his abettors, they are moſt damnably wicked; impatient for the death of the QUEEN; ready to gratify their ambition and revenge by all deſperate methods; wholly alienate from truth, law, religion, mercy, conſcience, or honour.—Thirdly, 'In 'what hands is power lodged abroad?' To anſwer the queſtion naturally, Louis XIV. is King of France, Philip V. (by the counſels and acknowledgements of the Whigs) is King of Spain, and ſo on. If by power he means money; the Duke of Marlborough is thought to have more ready money than all the kings of Chriſtendom together; but by the peculiar diſpoſition of providence it is locked up in a trunk, to which his ambition hath no key; and that is our ſecurity.—Fourthly, 'Are 'our unnatural diviſions our ſtrength?' I think not; but they are the ſign of it, for being *unnatural* they cannot laſt; and this ſhews, that *union*, the foundation of all ſtrength, is more agreeable to our nature.—Fifthly, 'Is it 'nothing to us, which of the princes of Europe has the 'longeſt ſword?' Not much, if we can tie up his hands, or put a ſtrong *ſhield* into thoſe of his neighbours; or if our *ſword* be as *ſharp* as his is *long:* or if it be neceſſary for him to turn his own *ſword* into a *plow-ſhare*: or if ſuch a *ſword* happeneth to be in the hands of an *infant*, or ſtruggled for by two competitors.—Sixthly, 'The power-'ful hand that deals out crowns and kingdoms all around 'us, may it not in time reach a king out to us too?' If the *powerful hand* he means be that of France, it may reach out as many kings as it pleaſeth; but we will not accept them. Whence does this man get his intelligence? I ſhould think even his brother Ridpath might furniſh him with better. What *crowns* or *kingdoms* hath France dealt about? Spain was given by the will of the former King, in conſequence of that infamous treaty of *partition*, the adviſer of which will I hope, never be forgot in England. Sicily was diſpoſed of by her Majeſty of Great Britain; ſo in effect was Sardinia. France indeed once *reached out* a king to Poland, but the people would not

not receive him. This queſtion of Mr Steele's was therefore only put *in terrorem*, without any regard to truth.—Seventhly, 'Are there no pretenſions to our 'crown that can ever be revived?' There may, for ought I know, be about a dozen; and thoſe in time may poſſibly beget a hundred; but we muſt do as well as we can. Captain Beſſus, when he had fifty challenges to anſwer, proteſted he could not fight above three duels a day. "If the Pretender ſhould fail, ſays the writer, "the French King has in his quiver a ſucceſſion of "them; the Ducheſs of Savoy, or her ſons, or the "Dauphin her grandſon." Let me ſuppoſe the Chevalier de St George to be dead; the Ducheſs of Savoy will then be a *pretender*, and conſequently muſt leave her huſband, becauſe his Royal Highneſs (for Mr Steele has not yet acknowledged him for a King) is in alliance with her Britiſh Majeſty; her ſons, when they grow *pretenders*, muſt undergo the ſame fate. But I am at a loſs how to diſpoſe of the Dauphin, if he happen to be King of France before the *pretenderſhip* to Britain falls to his ſhare; for I doubt he will never be perſuaded to remove out of his own kingdom, only becauſe it is too near England.

BUT 'the Duke of Savoy did, ſome years ago, put 'in his claim to the crown of England in right of his 'wife, and he is a prince of great capacity, in ſtrict al-'liance with France, and may therefore very well add to 'our fears of a Popiſh ſucceſſor.' Is it the fault of the preſent, or of any miniſtry, that this Prince put in his claim? muſt we give him opium to deſtroy his *capacity*? or can we prevent his alliance with any prince, who is in peace with her Majeſty? Muſt we ſend to ſtab or poiſon all the *popiſh* princes, who have any pretended title to our crown by the proximity of blood? What, in the name of God, can theſe people drive at! what is it they demand Suppoſe the preſent Dauphin were now a man, and King of France, and next *popiſh* heir to the crown of England; is he not excluded by the laws of the land? But what regard will he have to our laws? I anſwer; hath not the QUEEN as good a title to the crown of France? and how is ſhe excluded, but by their *law againſt the* ſucceſſion of females, which we are not

bound

bound to acknowledge? And is it not in our power to exclude female ſucceſſors, as well as in theirs? If ſuch a pretence ſhall prove the cauſe of a war, what human power can prevent it! But our cauſe muſt neceſſarily be good and righteous; for either the kings of England have been unjuſtly kept out of the poſſeſſion of France, or the Dauphin, altho' neareſt of kin, can have no legal title to England. And he muſt be an ill prince indeed, who will not have the hearts and hands of ninety nine in an hundred among his ſubjects againſt ſuch a *popiſh pretender*.

I have been the longer in anſwering the ſeventh queſtion, becauſe it led me to conſider all he had afterwards to ſay upon the ſubject of the *Pretender*.——Eighthly, and laſtly, he aſks himſelf, "Whether Popery and ambition are become tame and quiet neighbours?" In this I can give him no ſatisfaction, becauſe I never was in that ſtreet where they live; nor do I converſe with any of their friends; only I find they are perſons of a very evil reputation. But I am told for certain, that *Ambition* hath removed her lodging, and lives the very next door to *Faction*, where they keep ſuch a racket, that the whole pariſh is diſturbed, and every night in an uproar.

THUS much in anſwer to thoſe eight *uneaſy queſtions* put by the author to himſelf in order to *ſatisfy every Briton*, and give him an occaſion of *taking an impartial view of the affairs of Europe in general, as well as of Great Britain in particular*.

AFTER enumerating the great actions of the confederate armies under the command of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, Mr Steele obſerves, in the bitterneſs of his ſoul, that the "Britiſh General, however "unaccountable it may be to poſterity, was not permit-"ted to enjoy the fruits of his glorious labour." Ten years *fruits*, it ſeems, were not ſufficient, and yet they were the fruitfulleſt campaigns that ever any General cropt. However, I cannot but hope, that poſterity will not be left in the dark, but ſome care taken both of her Majeſty's glory, and the reputation of thoſe ſhe employs. An impartial hiſtorian may tell the world (and the next age will eaſily believe what it continues to feel) that the avarice and ambition of a few factious inſolent ſubjects had

had almoſt deſtroyed their country, by continuing a ruinous war in conjunction with allies, for whoſe ſakes principally we fought, who refuſed to bear their juſt proportion of the charge, and were connived at in their refuſal, for private ends: that theſe factious people treated the beſt and kindeſt of ſovereigns with inſolence, cruelty, and ingratitude (of which he will be able to produce ſeveral inſtances); that they encouraged perſons and principles alien from our religion and government in order to ſtrengthen their faction: he will tell the reaſons, why the *General* and *Firſt Miniſter* were ſeduced to be heads of this faction, contrary to the opinions they had always profeſſed. Such an hiſtorian will ſhew many reaſons, which made it neceſſary to remove the General and his friends, who knowing the bent of the nation was againſt them, expected to loſe their power when the war was at an end. Particularly, the hiſtorian will diſcover the whole intrigue of the Duke of Marlborough's endeavouring to procure a commiſſion to be *General for life**; wherein juſtice will be done to a perſon at that time of high ſtation in the law, who, (I mention it to his honour) adviſed the Duke, when he was conſulted upon it, not to accept of ſuch a *commiſſion*. By theſe and many other inſtances, which time will bring to light, it may perhaps appear not very unaccountable to poſterity, why this great man was diſmiſſed at laſt; but rather why he was diſmiſſed no ſooner.

BUT this is entering into a wide field. I ſhall therefore leave *poſterity* to the information of better hiſtorians than the author of the Criſis, or myſelf; and go on to inform the preſent age in ſome facts, which this great orator and politician thinks fit to miſrepreſent with the utmoſt degree either of natural or wilful ignorance. He aſſerts, that in the Duke of Ormonde's campaign, "after "a ſuſpenſion of arms between Great Britain and "France, proclaimed at the head of the armies, the "Britiſh troops, in the midſt of the enemy's garriſons "withdrew themſelves from their confederates." The fact

* See the Examiner, No XIX. and the ſubſequent papers, vol. 5.

fact is directly otherwise; for the British troops were most infamously deserted by the confederates, after all that could be urged by the Duke of Ormonde, and the Earl of Strafford to press the confederate generals not to forsake them. The Duke was directed to avoid engaging in any action, until he had further orders, because an account of the King of Spain's renunciation was every day expected: this the Imperialists and Dutch knew well enough; and therefore proposed to the Duke, in that very juncture, to engage the French, for no other reason but to render desperate all the Queen's measures towards a peace. Was not the certain possession of Dunkirk of equal advantage to the uncertainty of a battle? A whole campaign under the Duke of Marlborough, with such an acquisition, altho' at the cost of many thousand lives, and several millions of money, would have been thought very gloriously ended.

NEITHER, after all, was it a new thing either in the British general or the Dutch deputies to refuse fighting, when they did not approve it. When the Duke of Marlborough was going to invest Bouchain, the deputies of the States pressed him in vain to engage the enemy; and one of them was so far discontented upon his Grace's refusal, that he presently became a partizan of the peace; yet I do not remember any clamour then raised here against the Duke upon that account. Again, when the French invaded Doway, after the confederates had deserted the Duke of Ormonde, Prince Eugene was violently bent upon a battle, and said, they should never have another so good an opportunity; but Monsieur ———, a private deputy, rose up, and opposed it so far, that the Prince was forced to desist. Was it then more criminal in the Duke of Ormonde to refuse fighting by express command of the Queen, and in order to get possession of Dunkirk, than for the Duke of Marlborough to give the same refusal without any such orders, or any such advantage? or shall a Dutch deputy assume more power than the Queen of Great Britain's general, acting by the immediate commands of his sovereign?

"THE Emperor and the empire (says Mr Steele, by "way of admiration) continue the war!" Is his Imperial Majesty able to continue it or no? if he be, then

Great Britain hath been ſtrangely uſed for ten years paſt: then how came it to paſs that of above thirty thouſand men in his ſervice in Italy at the time of the battle of Turin, there were not above four thouſand paid by himſelf? if he be not able to continue it, why does he go on? The reaſons are clear; becauſe the war only affects the Princes of the empire (whom he is willing enough to expoſe) but not his own dominions. Beſides, the Imperial miniſters are in daily expectation of the Queen's death, which they hope will give a new turn to affairs, and rekindle the war in Europe upon the old foot; and we know how the miniſters of that court publicly aſſign it for a reaſon of their obſtinacy againſt peace, that they hope for a ſudden revolution in England. In the mean time this appearance of the Emperor's being forſaken by his ally will ſerve to increaſe the clamour, both here and in Holland, againſt her Majeſty and thoſe ſhe employs.

Mr Steele ſays, "there can be no crime in affirming, "if it be truth, that the houſe of Bourbon is at this "juncture become more formidable, and bids fairer for "an univerſal monarchy, and to engroſs the whole trade "of Europe, than it did before the war."

No crime in affirming it, if it be truth. I will for once allow his propoſition. But if it be falſe, then I affirm, that whoever advanceth ſo ſeditious a falſhood, deſerves to be hanged. Doth he mean by the houſe of Bourbon, the two Kings of France and Spain? If ſo, I reject his meaning, which would inſinuate, that the intereſts and deſigns of both thoſe Princes will be the ſame; whereas they are more oppoſite than thoſe of any two other monarchs in Chriſtendom. This is the old foolish ſlander ſo frequently flung upon the peace, and as frequently refuted. Theſe factious undertakers of the preſs write with great advantage; they ſtrenuouſly affirm a thouſand falſhoods without fear, wit, conſcience, or knowledge; and we, who anſwer them, muſt be at the expence of an argument for each; after which, in the very next pamphlet we ſee the ſame aſſertions produced again, without the leaſt notice of what hath been ſaid to diſprove them. By the houſe of Bourbon doth he mean only the French King for the time being? If ſo, and his aſſertion be true, then that Prince muſt either

deal

deal with the devil, or elſe the money and blood ſpent in our ten years victories againſt him might as well have continued in the purſes and veins of her Majeſty's ſubjects.

But the particular aſſertions of this author are eaſier detected than his general ones; I ſhall therefore proceed upon examining the former. For inſtance: I deſire him to aſk the Dutch, who can beſt inform him, "why they "delivered up Traerbach to the Imperialiſts?" for as to the Queen, her Majeſty was never once conſulted in it; whatever his preceptors, the politicians of Button's coffee-houſe, may have informed him to the contrary.

Mr Steele affirms, "that the French have begun the "demolition of Dunkirk contemptuouſly and arbitrarily "their own way." The Governor of the town, and thoſe gentlemen intruſted with the inſpection of this work, do aſſure me, that the fact is altogether otherwiſe; that the method preſcribed by thoſe whom her Majeſty employs, hath been exactly followed, and that the works are already demoliſhed. I will venture to tell him further, that the demolition was ſo long deferred in order to remove thoſe difficulties, which the Barrier-treaty hath put us under; and the event hath ſhewn, that it was prudent to proceed no faſter, until thoſe difficulties were got over. The mole and harbour could not be deſtroyed, until the ſhips were got out; which, by reaſon of ſome profound ſecrets of ſtate, did not happen until the other day. Who gave him thoſe juſt ſuſpicions, that the mole and harbour will never be deſtroyed? what is it he would now inſinuate? that the miniſtry is bribed to leave the moſt important part of the work undone; or that the Pretender is to invade us from thence; or that the Queen hath entered into a conſpiracy with her ſervants to prevent the good effects of the peace for no other end, but to loſe the affections of her people, and endanger herſelf?

Instead of any further information, which I could eaſily give, but which no honeſt man can want, I venture to affirm, that the mole and harbour of Dunkirk will, in a ſhort time, be moſt effectually deſtroyed; and at the ſame time I venture to propheſy, that neither Mr Steele, nor his faction will ever confeſs they believe it.

After

AFTER all, it is a little hard, that the Queen cannot be allowed to demoliſh this town in whatever manner ſhe pleaſes to fancy. Mr Steele muſt have it done his own way, and is angry the French have pretended to do it theirs; and yet he wrongs them into the bargain. For my own part, I do ſeriouſly think the moſt Chriſtian King to be a much better friend of her Majeſty's than Mr Steele, or any of his faction. Beſides, it is to be conſidered, that he is a monarch and a relation; and therefore, if I were a privy counſellor, and my advice to be aſked, which of thoſe two GENTLEMEN BORN * ſhould have the direction in the demolition of Dunkirk, I would give it for the former; becauſe I look upon Mr Steele, in quality of a member of his party, to be much more ſkilful in demoliſhing at home than abroad.

THERE is a proſpect of more danger to the balance of Europe, and to the trade of Britain from the Emperor over-running Italy, than from France over-running the *empire*; that his Imperial Majeſty entertains ſuch thoughts is viſible to the world: and altho' little can be ſaid to juſtify many actions of the French King, yet the worſt of them have never equalled the Emperor's arbitrary keeping the poſſeſſion of Milan directly contrary to his oath, and to the expreſs words of the *golden bull*, which oblige him to deliver up every *fief* that falls, or elſe they muſt all, in the courſe of time, lapſe into his own hands.

I was at a loſs, who it was that Mr Steele hinted at ſome time ago, by *the powerful hand, that deals out crowns and kingdoms all around us*: I now plainly find he meant no other hand but his own. He hath dealt out the crown of Spain to France; to France he hath given leave to invade the *empire* next ſpring with two hundred thouſand men; and now at laſt he deals to France the *imperial* dignity; *and ſo farewel liberty*; *Europe will be French*. But in order to bring all this about, *the capital of Auſtria, the reſidence of his Imperial Majeſty*, muſt continue to be *viſited by the plague*, of which the Emperor muſt die, and ſo the thing is done.

WHY

* Mr Steele often ſtyles himſelf ſo.

WHY ſhould not I venture to deal out one ſceptre in my turn as well as Mr Steele? I therefore deal out the empire to the Elector of Saxony, upon failure of iſſue to this Emperor at his death; provided the Whigs will prevail on the ſon to turn Papiſt to get an empire, as they did upon the father to get a kingdom. Or if this Prince be not approved of, I deal it out in his ſtead to the Elector of Bavaria: and in one or the other of theſe I dare engage to have all Chriſtendom to ſecond me, whatever the ſpleen, in the ſhape of politics, may dictate to the author of the Criſis.

THE deſign of Mr Steele in *repreſenting the circumſtances of the affairs of Europe* is to ſignify to the world, that all Europe is put in the high road to ſlavery by the corruption of her Majeſty's preſent miniſters; and ſo he goes on to Portugal; which, "having during the war "ſupplied us with gold, in exchange for our woollen ma-"nufacture, hath only at preſent a ſuſpenſion of arms "for its protection, to laſt no longer than till the Cata-"lonians are reduced; and then the old pretenſions of "Spain to Portugal will be revived:" and Portugal, when once enſlaved by Spain, falls naturally with the reſt of Europe into the gulph of France. In the mean time let us ſee, what relief a little truth can give this unhappy kingdom. That Portugal hath yet no more than a ſuſpenſion of arms they may thank themſelves, becauſe they came ſo late into the treaty; and that they came ſo late, they may thank the Whigs, whoſe falſe repreſentations they were ſo weak to believe. However, the QUEEN hath voluntarily given them a guarantee to defend them againſt Spain, until the peace ſhall be made; and ſuch terms after the peace are ſtipulated for them, as the Portugueſe themſelves are contented with.

HAVING mentioned the Catalonians, he puts the queſtion, "Who can name the Catalonians without a "tear?" That can I; for he hath told ſo many melancholy ſtories without one ſyllable of truth, that he hath blunted the edge of my fears, and I ſhall not be ſtartled at the worſt he can ſay. What he affirms concerning the Catalonians is included in the following particulars; firſt, "that they were drawn into the war by the en-"couragement of the maritime powers;" by which are underſtood

underſtood England and Holland: but he is too good a friend of the Dutch to give them any part of the blame. Secondly, "that they are now abandoned and expoſed "to the reſentment of an enraged Prince." Thirdly, "that they always oppoſed the perſon and intereſt of "that Prince, who is their preſent King." Laſtly, "that the doom is dreadful of thoſe, who ſhall in the "ſight of God, be eſteemed their deſtroyers." And if we interpret the inſinuation he makes, according to his own mind, the deſtruction of thoſe people muſt be imputed to the preſent miniſtry.

I am ſometimes, in charity, diſpoſed to hope, that this writer is not always ſenſible of the flagrant falſhoods he utters, but is either byaſſed by an inclination to believe the worſt, or a want of judgment to chuſe his informers. That the Catalonians were drawn into the war by the encouragement of her Majeſty, ſhould not in decency have been affirmed until about fifty years hence; when it might be ſuppoſed there would be no living witneſs left to diſprove it. It was only upon the aſſurances of a revolt given by the Prince of Heſſe and others, and their invitation, that the QUEEN was prevailed with to ſend her forces upon that expedition. When Barcelona was taken by a moſt unexpected accident of a bomb lighting on the magazine, then indeed the Catalonians revolted, having before ſubmitted and ſworn allegiance to Philip, as much as any other province of Spain. Upon the peace between that crown and Britain, the QUEEN, in order to eaſe the Emperor, and ſave his troops, ſtipulated with King Philip for a neutrality in Italy, and that his Imperial Majeſty ſhould have liberty to evacuate Catalonia; upon condition of abſolute indemnity to the Catalonians, with an entire reſtitution to their honours, dignities, and eſtates. As this neutrality was never obſerved by the Emperor, ſo he never effectually evacuated Catalonia; for altho' he ſent away the main body, he left behind many officers and private men, who now ſpirit up and aſſiſt thoſe obſtinate people to continue in their rebellion. It is true indeed that King Philip did not abſolutely reſtore the Catalonians to all their old privileges, of which they never made other uſe than an encouragement to rebel;

rebel; but admitted them to the ſame privileges with his ſubjects of Caſtile, particularly to the liberty of trading, and having employments in the Weſt-Indies, which they never enjoyed before. Beſides, the QUEEN reſerved to herſelf the power of procuring farther immunities for them, wherein the Moſt Chriſtian King was obliged to ſecond her: for his Catholic Majeſty intended no more than to retrench thoſe privileges, under the pretext of which they now rebel, as they had formerly done in favour of France. How dreadful then muſt be the doom of thoſe, who hindered theſe people from ſubmitting to the gentle terms offered them by their Prince! and who, altho' they be conſcious of their own inability to furniſh one ſingle ſhip for the ſupport of the Catalonians, are at this inſtant ſpurring them on to their ruin by promiſes of aid and protection!

THUS much in anſwer to Mr Steele's account of the affairs of Europe; from which he deduceth the univerſal monarchy of France, and the danger of I know not how many popiſh ſucceſſors to Britain. His political reflections are as good as his facts. "We muſt obſerve, ſays "he, that the perſon who ſeems to be the moſt favoured "by the French King in the late treaties, is the Duke "of Savoy" Extremely right; for whatever that Prince got by the peace, he owes entirely to her Majeſty, as a juſt reward for his having been ſo firm and uſeful an ally; neither was France brought with more difficulty to yield any one point than that of allowing the Duke ſuch a barrier as the Queen inſiſted on

"HE is become the moſt powerful Prince in Italy." I had rather ſee him ſo than the Emperor. "He is "ſuppoſed to have entered into a ſecret and ſtrict alliance "with the houſe of Bourbon." This is one of the facts wherein I am moſt inclined to believe the au because it is what he muſt needs be utterly ignoran and therefore may poſſibly be true.

I thought indeed we ſhould be ſafe from all po ſucceſſors as far as Italy, becauſe of the prodigious clu about ſending the Pretender thither. But they will ver agree where to fix their longitude. The Du Savoy is the more dangerous for removing to Sic

adds to our fears for being too near. So "[illegible] "France conquer Germany, or be in peace and [illegible] "understanding with it, either event will put [illegible] "Holland at the mercy of France," which hath a quiver full of Pretenders at its back, whenever the Chevalier ſhall die.

THIS was juſt the logic of poor Prince Butler, a ſplenetic mad man, whom every body may remember about the town. Prince Pamphilio in Italy employed emiſſaries to torment Prince Butler here. But what if Prince Pamphilio die? Why then he had left in his will, that his heirs and executors torment Prince Butler for ever.

I cannot think it a misfortune what Mr Steele affirms, "that treaſonable books lately diſperſed among us, "ſtriking apparently at the Hanover ſucceſſion, have "paſſed almoſt without obſervation from the generality "of the people;" becauſe it ſeems a certain ſign, that the generality of the people are well diſpoſed to that illuſtrious family: but I look upon it as a great evil, to ſee ſeditious books diſperſed among us, apparently ſtriking at the Queen and her adminiſtration, at the conſtitution of church and ſtate, and at all religion; yet paſſing without obſervation from the generality of thoſe in power: but whether this remiſſneſs may be imputed to White-hall or Weſtminſter-hall is other men's buſineſs to enquire. Mr Steele knows in his conſcience, that the *Queries concerning the Pretender* iſſued from one of his own party. And as for the poor nonjuring-clergyman, who was truſted with committing to the preſs a late book *on the ſubject* of *hereditary right*, by a ſtrain of the *ſummum jus* he is now, as I am told, with half a ſcore children, ſtarving and rotting among thieves and pick-pockets in the common room of a ſtinking jail*. I have never ſeen either the book or the publiſher; however, I would fain aſk one ſingle perſon † in the world a queſtion; why he hath ſo often drank the abdicated King's health upon his knees?——But the tranſition is

* Upon his conviction, he was committed to the Marſhalſea, and at his ſentence, to the Queen's Bench for three years. *Hearne.*

† Parker, afterward Lord Chancellor.

is natural and frequent, and I ſhall not trouble him for an anſwer.

IT is the hardeſt caſe in the world, that Mr Steele ſhould take up the artificial reports of his own faction, and then put them off upon the world as *additional fears of a popiſh ſucceſſor*. I can aſſure him, that no good ſubject of the QUEEN is under the leaſt concern, whether the Pretender be converted or no, farther than their wiſhes that all men would embrace the true religion. But, reporting backwards and forwards upon this point helps to keep up the noiſe, and is a topic for Mr Steele to enlarge himſelf upon, by ſhewing how little we can depend on ſuch converſions, by collecting a liſt of Popiſh cruelties, and repeating after himſelf and the Bp of Sarum the diſmal effects likely to follow upon the return of that ſuperſtition among us.

BUT as this writer is reported by thoſe who know him to be what the French call *journalier*, his fear and courage operating according to the weather in our uncertain climate; I am apt to believe the two laſt pages of his Criſis were written on a *fun-ſhine day*. This I gueſs from the general tenor of them, and particularly from an unwary aſſertion, which, if he believes as firmly as I do, will at once overthrow all his foreign and domeſtic fears of a Popiſh ſucceſſor. 'As divided a people as we are, 'thoſe who ſtand for the houſe of Hanover are INFINITE-'LY ſuperior in number, wealth, courage, and all arts 'military and civil, to thoſe in the contrary intereſt; be-'ſides which we have the laws, I ſay, the laws on our 'ſide. The laws, I ſay, the laws.' This elegant repetition is, I think, a little out of the place; for the ſtreſs might better have been laid upon ſo great a majority of the nation; without which I doubt the laws would be of little weight, altho' they be very good additional ſecurities. And if what he here aſſerts be true, as it certainly is, altho' he aſſerts it (for I allow even the majority of his own party to be againſt the Pretender) there can be no danger of a Popiſh ſucceſſor, except from the unreaſonable jealouſies of the *beſt* among that party, and from the malice, the avarice, or ambition of the *worſt*: without which Britain would be able to defend her ſucceſſion againſt all her enemies both at home and abroad. Moſt of the

the dangers from abroad, which he enumerates as the consequences of this very bad peace made by the QUEEN, and approved by parliament, muſt have ſubſiſted under any peace at all; unleſs, among other projects equally feaſible, we could have ſtipulated to cut the throats of every Popiſh relation to the royal family.

WELL, by this author's own confeſſion a number infinitely ſuperior, and the beſt circumſtantiated imaginable, are for the *ſucceſſion* in the houſe of Hanover. This *ſucceſſion* is eſtabliſhed, confirmed, and ſecured by ſeveral laws; her Majeſty's repeated declarations, and the oath of all her ſubjects, engage both her and them to preſerve what thoſe laws have ſettled. This is a ſecurity indeed, a *ſecurity* adequate at leaſt to the importance of the thing; and yet, according to the whig ſcheme, as delivered to us by Mr Steele and his coadjutors, is altogether inſufficient; and the ſucceſſion will be defeated, the Pretender brought in, and Popery eſtabliſhed among us, without the farther aſſiſtance of this writer and his faction.

AND what ſecurities have our adverſaries ſubſtituted in the place of theſe? A club of politicians, where Jenny Man preſides; a Criſis written by Mr Steele; a confederacy of knaviſh ſtock-jobbers to ruin credit; a report of the QUEEN's death; an effigies of the Pretender run twice thro' the body by a valiant Peer; a ſpeech by the author of the Criſis; and, to ſum up all, an unlimited freedom of reviling her Majeſty and thoſe ſhe employs.

I have now finiſhed the moſt diſguſtful taſk that ever I undertook. I could with more eaſe have written three dull pamphlets, than remarked upon the falſehoods and abſurdities of one. But I was quite confounded laſt Wedneſday, when the printer came with another pamphlet in his hand, written by the ſame author, and entitled, *The Engliſhman, being the cloſe of the paper ſo called*, &c. He deſired I would read it over, and conſider it in a paper by itſelf; which laſt I abſolutely refuſed. Upon peruſal I found it chiefly an invective againſt Toby, the miniſtry, the Examiner, the clergy, the QUEEN, and the Poſt-boy; yet at the ſame time with great juſtice exclaiming againſt *thoſe*, who preſumed to offer the leaſt word againſt the *heads* of that faction whom her Majeſty diſcharged. T[illegible]

author likewiſe propoſeth an equal diviſion of favour and employments between the Whigs and Tories; for if the former can have no part or portion in David*, they deſire no longer to be his ſubjects. He inſiſts, 'that 'her Majeſty hath exactly followed Monſieur Tughe's 'memorial† againſt demoliſhing of Dunkirk. He re-'flects with great ſatisfaction on the good already done 'to his country by the Criſis.' *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis*, &c.—He gives us hopes that he will leave off writing, and conſult his own quiet and happineſs; and concludes with a letter to a friend at court. I ſuppoſe by the ſtile of old friend, and the like, it muſt be ſome body there of his own level; among whom his party have indeed more friends than I could wiſh. In this letter he aſſerts, that the preſent miniſters were not educated in the church of England, but are new converts from Preſbytery. Upon which I can only reflect, how blind the malice of that man muſt be, who invents a groundleſs lye in order to defame his ſuperiors, which would be no diſgrace if it had been a truth. And he concludes with making three demands, for the ſatisfaction of himſelf, and other malecontents. *Firſt*, 'the demolition of the har-'bour of Dunkirk.' *Secondly*, 'that Great Britain and 'France would heartily join againſt the exorbitant power 'of the Duke of Lorrain, and force the Pretender from 'his aſylum at Bar le Duc.' *Laſtly*, 'that his Electoral 'Highneſs of Hanover would be ſo grateful to ſignify 'to all the world the perfect good underſtanding he 'hath with the court of England, in as plain terms as 'her Majeſty was pleaſed to declare ſhe had with that 'houſe on her part.'

As to the firſt of theſe demands, I will venture to undertake it ſhall be granted; but then Mr Steele and his brother *malecontents* muſt promiſe to believe the thing is done

* What portion have we in David?

† "Tughe was deputed by the magiſtrates of Dunkirk to intercede with the Queen, that ſhe would recall part of her ſentence concerning Dunkirk, by cauſing her thunderbolts to fall only on the martial works, and to ſpare the moles and dykes, which in their naked condition could be no more than objects of pity." *Hawkeſ.*

done, after thoſe employed have made their report; elſe bring vouchers to diſprove it. Upon the ſecond; cannot tell whether her Majeſty will engage in a w againſt the Duke of Lorrain to force him to remove t Pretender; but I believe if the Parliament ſhould thi it neceſſary to addreſs upon ſuch an occaſion, the Que will move that Prince to ſend him away. His laſt c mand, offered under the title of a wiſh, is of ſo inſole and ſeditious a ſtrain, that I care not to touch it. He he directly chargeth her Majeſty with delivering a fa hood to her Parliament from the throne; and decla he will not believe her, until the Elector of Hanov himſelf ſhall vouch for the truth of what ſhe hath ſo ſolemnly affirmed.

I agree with this writer, that it is an idle thing in antagoniſts to trouble themſelves upon the articles of birth, education, or fortune; for whoever writes at th rate of his ſovereign, to whom he owes ſo many perſo al obligations, I ſhould never enquire whether he be GENTLEMAN BORN, but whether he be a HU MAN CREATURE.

T

The Conduct of the ALLIES, and of the LATE MINISTRY, in beginning and carrying on the present war *.

Written in the year 1712.

Partem tibi Gallia noſtri
Eripuit: partem duris Hiſpania bellis:
Pars jacet Heſperia, totoque exercitus orbe
Te vincente perit.

Odimus accipitrem quia ſemper vivit in armis,
Victrix provincia plorat.

PREFACE.

I CANNOT ſufficiently admire the induſtry of a ſort of men, wholly out of favour with the Prince and people, and openly profeſſing a ſeparate intereſt from the bulk of the landed men, who yet are able to raiſe at this juncture ſo great a clamour againſt a peace, without offering one ſingle reaſon, but what we find in their *ballads*. I lay it down for a maxim, that no reaſonable

* To this tract and the Examiners, which make vol. 5. of the Iriſh edition, there is a preface in the name of the publiſher, which Lord Orrery aſcribes to Swift for no other apparent reaſon, than to accuſe him of praiſing himſelf. But beſides the incorrectneſs of the ſtyle, which his Lordſhip ſuppoſes to be affected, there is an aſſertion, that theſe papers *produced* the change in the Queen's miniſtry, which even in his Lordſhip's opinion they were written to *defend*, and to which they appear by their date as well as tenor to be *ſubſequent*; an abſurdity of which Swift, even in the character of a publiſher, cannot be ſuſpected to have been guilty. Hawkeſ.

man, whether Whig or Tory, (ſince it is neceſſary to uſe thoſe fooliſh terms) can be of opinion for continuing the war upon the foot it now is, unleſs he be a gainer by it, or hopes it may occaſion ſome new turn of affairs at home to the advantage of his party; or laſtly, unleſs he be very ignorant of the kingdom's condition, and by what means we have been reduced to it. Upon the two firſt caſes, where intereſt is concerned, I have nothing to ſay: but as to the laſt, I think it highly neceſſary that the public ſhould be freely and impartially told what circumſtances they are in, after what manner they have been treated by thoſe, whom they truſted ſo many years with the diſpoſal of their blood and treaſure, and what the conſequences of this management are like to be upon themſelves and their poſterity.

THOSE who, either by writing or diſcourſe, have undertaken to defend the proceedings of the late miniſtry in the management of the war, and of the treaty at Gertruydenburgh, have ſpent time in celebrating the conduct and valour of our leaders and their troops, in ſumming up the victories they have gained, and the towns they have taken. Then they tell us what high articles were inſiſted on by our miniſters and thoſe of the confederates, and what pains both were at in perſuading France to accept them. But nothing of this can give the leaſt ſatisfaction to the juſt complaints of the kingdom. As to the war our grievances are, that a greater load has been laid on us than was either juſt or neceſſary, or than we have been able to bear; that the groſſeſt impoſitions have been ſubmitted to for the advancement of private wealth and power, or in order to forward the more dangerous deſigns of a *faction*, to both which a peace would have put an end; and that the part of the war which was chiefly our province, which would have been moſt beneficial to us, and deſtructive to the enemy, was wholly neglected. As to a peace, we complain of being deluded by a *mock-treaty*; in which thoſe who negotiated took care to make ſuch demands as they knew were impoſſible to be complied with; and therefore might ſecurely preſs every article as if they were in earneſt.

THESE

THESE are ſome of the points I deſign to treat of in the following diſcourſe; with ſeveral others which I thought it neceſſary at this time for the kingdom to be informed of. I think I am not miſtaken in thoſe facts I mention; at leaſt not in any circumſtance ſo material as to weaken the conſequences I draw from them.

AFTER ten years wars with perpetual ſucceſs, to tell us it is yet impoſſible to have a good peace, is very ſurpriſing, and ſeems ſo different from what hath ever happened in the world before, that a man of any party may be allowed ſuſpecting, that we have been either ill uſed, or have not made the moſt of our victories, and might therefore deſire to know where the difficulty lay. Then it is natural to enquire into our preſent condition; how long we ſhall be able to go on at this rate; what the conſequences may be upon the preſent and future ages; and whether a peace without that impracticable point, which ſome people do ſo much inſiſt on, be really ruinous in itſelf, or equally ſo with the continuance of the war.

The

The CONDUCT of the ALLIES, &c.*

THE motives that may engage a wiſe prince or ſtate in war, I take to be one or more of theſe: either to check the overgrown power of ſome ambitious neighbour; to recover what hath been unjuſtly taken from them; to revenge ſome injury they have received (which all political caſuiſts allow); to aſſiſt ſome ally in a juſt quarrel; or laſtly, to defend themſelves when they are invaded. In all theſe caſes the writers upon politics admit a war to be juſtly undertaken. The laſt is what hath been uſually called *pro aris et foci*; where no expence or endeavour can be too great, becauſe all we have is at ſtake, and conſequently our outmoſt force to be exerted; and the diſpute is ſoon determined either in ſafety or utter deſtruction. But in the other four, I believe it will be found, that no monarch or commonwealth did ever engage beyond a certain degree; never proceeding ſo far as to exhauſt the ſtrength and ſubſtance of their country by anticipations and loans, which in a few years muſt put them in a worſe condition, than any they could reaſonably apprehend from thoſe evils, for the preventing of

* This was written preparatory to the peace which the miniſters were then concerting, and which was afterwards perfected at Utrecht. It begins by reflections on war in general, and then particularly mentions the ſeveral civil wars in our kingdom.—Unhappy country! torn to pieces by her own ſons; a wretched mother of vultures, for whom, like Tityus, ſhe produces new intrails only to be devoured! *Orrery.*

This tract, and remarks on the barrier treaty, contain the principal facts which the author of John Bull has thrown into allegory; and greatly illuſtrates that piece, of which indeed it is poſſible they were the ground-work. *Hawkeſ.*

A particular account of the occaſion of this tract, and of the conſequences it produced, may be ſeen in Dr Swift's life, prefixed to vol. 1.

of which they firſt entered into the war; becauſe this would be to run into real infallible ruin, only in hopes to remove what might perhaps but appear ſo by a probable ſpeculation.

AND as a war ſhould be undertaken upon a juſt and prudent motive, ſo it is ſtill more obvious, that a prince ought maturely to conſider the condition he is in, when he enters on it; whether his coffers be full, his revenues clear of debts, his people numerous and rich, by a long peace and free trade, not over-preſſed with many burdenſome taxes; no violent faction ready to diſpute his juſt prerogative, and thereby weaken his authority at home, and leſſen his reputation abroad. For, if the contrary of all this happen to be his caſe, he will hardly be perſuaded to diſturb the world's quiet and his own, while there is any other way left of preſerving the latter with honour and ſafety.

SUPPOSING the war to have commenced upon a juſt motive; the next thing to be conſidered is, when a prince ought in prudence to receive the overtures of a peace; which I take to be, either when the enemy is ready to yield the point originally contended for; or when that point is found impoſſible to be ever obtained; or when contending any longer, altho' with probability of gaining that point at laſt, would put ſuch a prince and his people in a worſe condition than the preſent loſs of it. All which conſiderations, are of much greater force, where a war is managed by an alliance of many confederates, which, in the variety of intereſts among the ſeveral parties, is liable to ſo many unforeſeen accidents.

IN a confederate war, it ought to be conſidered, which party has the deepeſt ſhare in the quarrel: for altho' each may have their particular reaſons, yet one or two among them will probably be more concerned than the reſt, and therefore ought to bear the greateſt part of the burthen, in proportion to their ſtrength. For example, two princes may be competitors for a kingdom, and it may be your intereſt to take the part of him, who probably allow you good conditions of trade, and not the other, who poſſibly may not. However, he with whoſe cauſe you eſpouſe, altho' never ſo juſt, is the principal in that war, and you properly but

but a ſecond. Or a commonwealth may lie in danger to be over-run by a powerful neighbour, which in time may produce very bad conſequences upon your trade and liberty: it is therefore neceſſary, as well as prudent, to lend them aſſiſtance, and help them to win a ſtrong ſecure frontier; but as they muſt in courſe be the firſt and greateſt ſufferers, ſo in juſtice they ought to bear the greateſt weight. If a houſe be on fire, it behoves all in the neighbourhood to run with buckets to quench it; but the owner is ſure to be undone firſt; and it is not impoſſible, that thoſe at next door may eſcape by a ſhower from heaven, or the ſtillneſs of the weather, or ſome other favourable accident.

BUT if an ally, who is not ſo immediately concerned in the good or ill fortune of the war, be ſo generous as to contribute more than the principal party, and even more in proportion to his abilities, he ought at leaſt to have his ſhare in what is conquered from the enemy; or, if his romantic diſpoſition tranſport him ſo far as to expect little or nothing from this, he might however hope, that the principals would make it up in dignity and reſpect; and he would ſurely think it monſtrous to find them intermeddling in his domeſtic affairs, preſcribing what ſervants he ſhould keep or diſmiſs, preſſing him perpetually with the moſt unreaſonable demands, and at every turn threatening to break the alliance if he will not comply.

FROM theſe reflections upon war in general, I deſcend to conſider thoſe wars wherein England hath been engaged ſince the conqueſt. In the civil wars of the Barons, as well as thoſe between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, great deſtruction was made of the nobility and gentry; new families raiſed, and old ones extinguiſhed; but the money ſpent on both ſides was employed and circulated at home; no public debts contracted; and a very few years of peace quickly ſet all right again.

THE like may be affirmed even of that unnatural rebellion againſt K. Charles I. The uſurpers maintained great armies in conſtant pay, had almoſt continual war with Spain and Holland; but managing it by their fleets, they increaſed very much the riches of the kingdom, inſtead of exhauſting them.

OUR foreign wars were generally againſt Scotland or

France

France; the firſt being in this iſland carried no money out of the kingdom, and were ſeldom of long continuance. During our firſt wars with France we poſſeſſed great dominions in that country, where we preſerved ſome footing till the reign of Q. Mary; and altho' ſome of our later princes made very chargeable expeditions thither, a ſubſidy and two or three fifteenths cleared all the debt. Beſides, our victories were then of ſome uſe as well as glory; for we were ſo prudent to fight, and ſo happy to conquer, only for ourſelves.

THE Dutch wars in the reign of K. Charles II. altho' begun and carried on under a very corrupt adminiſtration, and much to the diſhonour of the crown, did indeed keep the King needy and poor by diſcontinuing or diſcontenting his parliament, when he moſt needed their aſſiſtance; but neither left any debt upon the nation, nor carried any money out of it.

AT the *revolution* a general war broke out in Europe, wherein many princes joined in alliance againſt France to check the ambitious deſigns of that monarch: and here the Emperor, the Dutch, and England were principals. About this time the cuſtom firſt began among us of borrowing millions upon funds of intereſt. It was pretended, that the war could not poſſibly laſt above one or two campaigns; and that the debts contracted might be eaſily paid in a few years by a gentle tax, without burthening the ſubject. But the true reaſon for embracing this expedient was the ſecurity of a new prince not firmly ſettled on the throne. People were tempted to lend by great premiums and large intereſt; and it concerned them nearly to preſerve that government, which they had truſted with their money. The perſon * ſaid to have been author of ſo deteſtable a project, lived to ſee ſome of its fatal conſequences, whereof his grand-children will not ſee an end. And this pernicious counſel cloſed very well with the poſture of affairs at that time: for a ſet of upſtarts, who had little or no part in the *revolution*, but valued themſelves upon their noiſe and pretended zeal when the work was over, were got into credit at court, by the merit of becoming undertakers and projectors of loans

* *Dr Burnet, Biſhop of Sarum.*

loans and funds: these finding, that the gentlemen of e states were not willing to come into their measures, fell upon those new schemes of raising money, in order to create a moneyed interest that might in time vie with the landed, and of which they hoped to be at the head.

THE ground of the first war, for ten years after the *revolution*, as to the part we had in it, was to make France acknowledge the late King, and recover Hudson's Bay. But during that whole war the sea was almost entirely neglected, and the greatest part of six millions annually employed to enlarge the frontier of the Dutch. For the King was a general, but not an admiral; and altho' King of England, was a native of Holland.

AFTER ten years fighting to little purpose, after the loss of above an hundred thousand men, and a debt remaining of twenty millions, we at length hearkened to the terms of peace, which was concluded with great advantages to the Empire and Holland, but none at all to us; and clogged soon after with the famous treaty of *partition*, by which Naples, Sicily, and Lorrain were to be added to the French dominions; or if that crown should think fit to set aside the treaty upon the Spaniards refusing to accept it, as they declared they would to the several parties at the very time of transacting it, then the French would have pretensions to the whole monarchy. And so it proved in the event; for the late King of Spain, reckoning it an indignity to have his territories cantoned out in parcels by other princes during his own life, and without his consent, rather chose to bequeath the monarchy entire to a younger son of France; and this Prince was then acknowledged for King of Spain both by us and Holland.

IT must be granted, that the counsels of entering into this war were violently opposed by the *church-party*, who first advised the late King to acknowledge the Duke of Anjou; and particularly it is affirmed, that a certain *great person* †, who was then in the church interest, told the King in November 1701, that since his Majesty was determined to engage in a war so contrary to his own opinion, he could serve him no longer, and accordingly gave up his employment; altho' he happened to return

† Earl of Godolphin.

wards to change his mind, when he was to be at the head of the treasury, and have the sole management of affairs at home, while those abroad were to be in the hands of one *, whose advantage by all sorts of ties he was engaged to promote.

THE declarations of war against France and Spain, made by us and Holland, are dated within a few days of each other. In that published by the States they say very truly, "that they are nearest and most exposed to the "fire; that they are blocked up on all sides, and actual-"ly attacked by the Kings of France and Spain; that "their declaration is the effect of an urging and pressing "necessity:" with other expressions to the same purpose. They desire the assistance of all Kings and Princes, &c. The grounds of their quarrel with France are such as only affect themselves, or at least more immediately than any other Prince or State; such as, "the "French refusing to grant the Tariff promised by the "treaty of Ryswick; the loading the Dutch inhabitants "settled in France with excessive duties, contrary to the "said treaty; the violation of the partition treaty by "the French accepting the King of Spain's will, and "threatning the States if they would not comply; the "seizing the Spanish Netherlands by the French troops, "and turning out the Dutch, who, by permission of the "late King of Spain, were in garrison there, by which "means that republic was deprived of her barrier con-"trary to the treaty of partition, where it was particular-"ly stipulated, that the Spanish Netherlands should be "left to the Archduke. *They alledged, that* the French "King governed Flanders as his own, altho' under the "name of his grandson, and sent great numbers of troops "thither to fright them †: that he had seized the city and "citadel of Liege; had possessed himself of several places "in the archbishopric of Cologne, and maintained troops "in the county of Wolfenbuttel, in order to block up the "Dutch on all sides; and caused his resident to give in "a memorial, wherein he threatned the States to act a-

* Duke of Marlborough.

† This the author of John Bull calls *frighting the children out of their bread and butter. Hawkes.*

" gainſt them if they refuſed complying with the con-
" tents of that memorial."

THE Queen's declaration of war is grounded upon the grand alliance, as this was upon the unjuſt uſurpations and encroachments of the French King; whereof the inſtances produced are, " his keeping in poſſeſſion a great " part of the Spaniſh dominions, ſeizing Milan and the " Spaniſh Low-Countries, making himſelf maſter of Ca-" diz, &c. And inſtead of giving ſatisfaction in theſe " points, his putting an indignity and affront on her " Majeſty and kingdoms, by declaring the pretended " Prince of Wales King of England, &c." Which laſt was the only perſonal quarrel we had in the war; and even this was poſitively denied by France, that King being willing to acknowledge her Majeſty.

I think it plainly appears by both declarations, that England ought no more to have been a principal in this war than Pruſſia, or any other power, who came afterwards into that alliance. Holland was firſt in danger, the French troops being at that time juſt at the gates of Nimeguen. But the complaints made in our declaration do all, except the laſt, as much or more concern almoſt every Prince in Europe.

FOR, among the ſeveral parties who came firſt or laſt into this confederacy, there were few but who in proportion had more to get or to loſe, to hope or to fear, from the good or ill ſucceſs of this war than we. The Dutch took up arms to defend themſelves from immediate ruin; and by a ſucceſsful war, they propoſed to have a larger extent of country, and a better frontier againſt France. The Emperor hoped to recover the monarchy of Spain, or ſome part of it, for his younger ſon, chiefly at the expence of us and Holland. The King of Portugal had received intelligence, that Philip deſigned to renew the old pretenſions of Spain upon that kingdom, which is ſurrounded by the other on all ſides, except towards the ſea; and could therefore only be defended by maritime powers. This with the advantageous terms offered by K. Charles, as well as by us, prevailed with that Prince to enter into the alliance. The Duke of Savoy's temptations and fears were yet greater: the main charge of the war on that ſide was to be ſupplied by England, and

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the profit to redound to him. In caſe Milan ſhould be conquered, it was ſtipulated, that his Highneſs ſhould have the Dutchy of Montferrat belonging to the Duke of Mantua, the Provinces of Alexandria and Valencia and Lomellino, with other lands between the Po and the Tanaro, together with the Vigevenaſco, or in lieu of it an equivalent out of the Province of Navara, adjoining to his own ſtate, beſides, whatever elſe could be taken from France on that ſide by the confederate forces. Then he was in terrible apprehenſions of being ſurrounded by France, who had ſo many troops in the Milaneſe, and might have eaſily ſwallowed up his whole dutchy.

THE reſt of the allies came in purely for ſubſidies, whereof they ſunk conſiderable ſums into their own coffers, and refuſed to ſend their contingent to the Emperor, alledging their troops were already hired by England and Holland.

SOME time after the Duke of Anjou's ſucceeding to the monarchy of Spain, in breach of the *partition* treaty, the queſtion here in England was, whether the peace ſhould be continued, or a new war begun. Thoſe who were for the former, alledged the debts and difficulties we laboured under; that both we and the Dutch had already acknowleged Philip for King of Spain; that the inclinations of the Spaniards to the Houſe of Auſtria, and their averſion from that of Bourbon, were not ſo ſurely to be reckoned upon as ſome would pretend; that we thought it a piece of inſolence as well as injuſtice in the French to offer putting a king upon us, and the Spaniards would conceive we had as little reaſon to force one upon them: that it was true, the nature and genius of thoſe two people differed very much, and ſo would probably continue to do, as well under a king of French blood as one of Auſtrian; but that if we ſhould engage in a war for dethroning the Duke of Anjou, we ſhould certainly effect what, by the progreſs and operations of it, we endeavoured to prevent; I mean, an union of intereſt and affections between the two nations; for the Spaniards muſt of neceſſity call in French troops to their aſſiſtance; this would introduce French counſellors into K. Philip's court, and this by degrees would habituate and reconcile the two nations: that to aſſiſt K. Charles by Engliſh and Dutch forces would ren-

der him odious to his new ſubjects, who have nothing in ſo great abomination as thoſe whom they hold for heretics; that the French would by this means become maſters of the treaſures in the Spaniſh Weſt Indies; that in the laſt war, when Spain, Cologne, and Bavaria were in our alliance, and by a moderate computation brought ſixty thouſand men into the field againſt the common enemy; when Flanders, the ſeat of war, was on our ſide, and his Majeſty, a Prince of great valour and conduct, at the head of the whole confederate army; yet we had no reaſon to boaſt of our ſucceſs; how then ſhould we be able to oppoſe France with theſe powers againſt us, which would carry ſixty thouſand men from us to the enemy; and ſo make us upon the balance weaker by one hundred and twenty thouſand men at the beginning of this war, than of that in 1688?

On the other ſide, thoſe, whoſe opinion, or ſome private motives, inclined them to give their advice for entering into a new war, alledged how dangerous it would be for England that Philip ſhould be King of Spain; that we could have no ſecurity for our trade while that kingdom was ſubject to a Prince of the Bourbon family, nor any hopes of preſerving the balance of Europe, becauſe the grandfather would in effect be King, while his grandſon had but the title, and thereby have a better opportunity than ever of purſuing his deſign for univerſal monarchy. Theſe and the like arguments prevailed; and ſo without offering at any other remedy, without taking time to conſider the conſequences, or to reflect on our own condition, we haſtily engaged in a war, which hath coſt us ſixty millions; and after repeated as well as unexpected ſucceſs in arms, hath put us and our poſterity in a worſe condition, not only than any of our allies, but even our conquered enemies themſelves.

THE part we have acted in the conduct of this whole war, with reference to our allies abroad, and to a prevailing faction at home, is what I ſhall now particularly examine; where, I preſume, it will appear, by plain matters of fact, that no nation was ever ſo long or ſo ſcandalouſly abuſed by the folly, the temerity, the corruption and the ambition of its domeſtic enemies; or treated with ſo much inſolence, injuſtice, and ingratitude by its foreign friends.

THIS will be manifeſt by proving the three following points:

Firſt, That againſt all manner of prudence or common reaſon we engaged in this war as principals, when we ought to have acted only as auxiliaries.

Secondly, That we ſpent all our vigour in purſuing that part of the war, which could leaſt anſwer the end we propoſed by beginning it; and made no efforts at all, where we could have moſt weakened the common enemy, and at the ſame time enriched ourſelves.

Laſtly, That we ſuffered each of our allies to break every article in thoſe treaties and agreements by which they were bound, and lay the burthen upon us.

UPON the firſt of theſe points, that we ought to have entered into this war only as auxiliaries, let any man reflect upon our condition at that time: juſt come out of the moſt tedious, expenſive, and unſucceſsful war that ever England had been engaged in*; ſinking under heavy debts of a nature and degree never heard of by us or our anceſtors; the bulk of the gentry and people heartily tired of the war, and glad of a peace, altho' it brought no other advatage but itſelf; no ſudden proſpect of leſſening our taxes, which were grown as neceſſary to pay our debts as to raiſe armies; a ſort of artificial wealth of funds and ſtocks in the hands of thoſe who, for ten years before, had been plundering the public; many corruptions in every branch of our government that needed reformation. Under theſe difficulties, from which twenty years peace, and the wiſeſt management, could hardly recover us, we declared war againſt France, fortified by the acceſſion and alliance of thoſe powers I mentioned before, and which, in the former war, had been parties in our confederacy. It is very obvious, what a change muſt be made in the balance by ſuch weights taken out of our ſcale and put into theirs; ſince it was manifeſt by ten years experience, that France, without thoſe additions of ſtrength, was able to maintain itſelf againſt us. So that human probability ran with mighty odds on the other ſide; and in this caſe nothing under the moſt ex-

* I was then lean, being juſt come out of a fit of ſickneſs. John Bull, page 229. vol. 8.

treme neceſſity ſhould force any ſtate to engage in a war. We had already acknowledged Philip for King of Spain; neither does the QUEEN's declaration of war take notice of the Duke of Anjou's ſucceſſion to that monarchy as a ſubject of quarrel, but the French King's governing it as if it were his own; his ſeizing Cadiz, Milan, and the Spaniſh Low Countries, with the indignity of proclaiming the Pretender. In all which we charge that Prince with nothing directly relating to us, excepting the laſt: and this, altho' indeed a great affront, might eaſily have been redreſſed without a war; for the French court declared they did not acknowledge the Pretender, but only gave him the title of King, which was allowed to Auguſtus by his enemy of Sweden, who had driven him out of Poland, and forced him to acknowledge Staniſlaus.

IT is true indeed, the danger of the Dutch, by ſo ill a neighbourhood in Flanders, might affect us very much in the conſequences of it; and the loſs of Spain to the houſe of Auſtria, if it ſhould be governed by French influence and French politics, might in time be very pernicious to our trade. It would therefore have been prudent, as well as generous and charitable, to help our neighbour; and ſo we might have done without injuring ourſelves; for by an old treaty with Holland we were bound to aſſiſt that republic with ten thouſand men, whenever they were attacked by the French; whoſe troops, upon the King of Spain's death, taking poſſeſſion of Flanders in right of Philip, and ſecuring the Dutch garriſons till they would acknowledge him, the States-General, by memorials from their envoy here, demanded only the ten thouſand men we were obliged to give them by virtue of that treaty. And I make no doubt, but the Dutch would have exerted themſelves ſo vigorouſly, as to be able with that aſſiſtance alone to defend their frontiers; or if they had been forced to a peace, the Spaniards, who abhor diſmembering their monarchy, would never have ſuffered the French to poſſeſs themſelves of Flanders. At that time they had none of thoſe endearments to each other, which this war hath created; and whatever hatred and jealouſy were natural between the two nations would then have appeared. So that there was no ſort of neceſſity for us to *proceed further*, altho' we had been in a better condition.

But

But our politicians at that time [illegible] new war must be undertaken [illegible] who, with their partizans and [illegible] sole gainers by it. A grand alliance [illegible] between the Emperor, England, [illegible] by which, if the injuries complained [illegible] not remedied in two months, the [illegible] obliged mutually to assist each other [illegible] *strength*.

THUS we became parties [illegible] two allies, whose [illegible] proportion greater than [illegible] reason from the words of the grand alliance [illegible] we were obliged to make [illegible] have since been at. By what [illegible] read. I take the [illegible] in that treaty, to be the [illegible] annually from his subjects. I [illegible] and borrow, whether [illegible] perly speaking [illegible] the entire substance of particular [illegible] able to raise out of the annual income of [illegible] he takes upon security [illegible] And by this method one part of the nation [illegible] the other, with hardly a possibility [illegible] redeemed.

SURELY it would have been enough for us to have suspended the payment of our debts contracted in the former war; and to have continued our land and malt tax, with those others which have since been mortgaged, these, with some additions, would have made up such a sum, as with prudent management might I suppose have maintained an hundred thousand men by sea and land; a reasonable *quota* in all conscience for that ally who apprehended least danger, and expected least advantage. Nor can we imagine, that either of the confederates when the war began, would have been so unreasonable as to refuse joining with us upon such a foot, and expect that we should every year go between three and four m[illegible] in debt (which hath been our case because the [illegible] could hardly have contrived any offers of a peace [illegible] ous to us as such a war. Posterity will be at [illegible]

treme neceſſity ſhould force any ſtate to engage in a war. We had already acknowledged Philip for King of Spain; neither does the QUEEN's declaration of war take notice of the Duke of Anjou's ſucceſſion to that monarchy as a ſubject of quarrel, but the French King's governing it as if it were his own; his ſeizing Cadiz, Milan, and the Spaniſh Low Countries, with the indignity of proclaiming the Pretender. In all which we charge that Prince with nothing directly relating to us, excepting the laſt: and this, altho' indeed a great affront, might eaſily have been redreſſed without a war; for the French court declared they did not acknowledge the Pretender, but only gave him the title of King, which was allowed to Auguſtus by his enemy of Sweden, who had driven him out of Poland, and forced him to acknowledge Staniſlaus.

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But

But our politicians at that time had other views; and a new war muſt be undertaken upon the advice of thoſe, who, with their partizans and adherents, were to be the ſole gainers by it. A grand alliance was therefore made between the Emperor, England, and the States-General; by which, if the injuries complained of from France were not remedied in two months, the parties concerned were obliged mutually to aſſiſt each other *with their whole ſtrength*.

THUS we became parties in a war in conjunction with two allies, whoſe ſhare in the quarrel was beyond all proportion greater than ours. However, I can ſee no reaſon from the words of the grand alliance, by which we were obliged to make thoſe prodigious expences we have ſince been at. By what I have always heard and read, I take the *whole ſtrength of a nation*, as underſtood in that treaty, to be the utmoſt that a prince can raiſe annually from his ſubjects. If he be forced to mortgage and borrow, whether at home or abroad, it is not properly ſpeaking *his own ſtrength*, or that of the nation, but the entire ſubſtance of particular perſons, which not being able to raiſe out of the annual income of this kingdom, he takes upon ſecurity, and can only pay the intereſt. And by this method one part of the nation is pawned to the other, with hardly a poſſibility left of being ever redeemed.

SURELY it would have been enough for us to have ſuſpended the payment of our debts contracted in the former war; and to have continued our land and malt tax, with thoſe others, which have ſince been mortgaged; theſe, with ſome additions, would have made up ſuch a ſum, as with prudent management might, I ſuppoſe, have maintained an hundred thouſand men by ſea and land; a reaſonable *quota* in all conſcience for that ally, who apprehended leaſt danger, and expected leaſt advantage. Nor can we imagine, that either of the confederates, when the war began, would have been ſo unreaſonable as to refuſe joining with us upon ſuch a foot, and expect that we ſhould every year go between three and four millions in debt (which hath been our caſe) becauſe the French could hardly have contrived any offers of a peace ſo ruinous to us as ſuch a war. Poſterity will be at a loſs to conceive,

conceive, what kind of ſpirit could poſſeſs their anceſtors, who after ten years ſuffering by the unexampled politics of a nation maintaining war by annually pawning itſelf; and during a ſhort peace, while they were looking back with horror on the heavy loads of debts they had contracted, univerſally condemning thoſe pernicious counſels which had occaſioned them; racking their invention for ſome remedies or expedients to mend their ſhattered condition; I ſay, that theſe very people, without giving themſelves time to breathe, ſhould again enter into a more dangerous, chargeable, and expenſive war for the ſame or perhaps a greater period of time, and without any apparent neceſſity. It is obvious in a private fortune, that whoever annually runs out, and continues the ſame expences, muſt every year mortgage a greater quantity of land than he did before; and as the debt doubles and trebles upon him, ſo doth his inability to pay it. By the ſame proportion we have ſuffered twice as much by this laſt ten years war, as we did by the former; and if it were poſſible to continue it five years longer at the ſame rate, it would be as great a burden as the whole twenty. This computation being ſo eaſy and trivial as it is almoſt a ſhame to mention it, poſterity will think, that thoſe who firſt adviſed the war wanted either the ſenſe or the honeſty to conſider it.

AND as we have waſted our ſtrength and vital ſubſtance in this profuſe manner, ſo we have ſhamefully miſapplied it to ends at leaſt very different from thoſe, for which we undertook the war, and often to effect others which after a peace we may ſeverely repent. This is the ſecond article I propoſed to examine.

WE have now for ten years together turned the whole force and expence of the war where the enemy was beſt able to hold us at a bay; where we could propoſe no manner of advantage to ourſelves; where it was highly impolitic to enlarge our conqueſt; utterly neglecting that part, which would have ſaved and gained us many millions, which the perpetual maxims of our government teach us to purſue; which would have ſooneſt weakened the enemy, and muſt either have promoted a ſpeedy peace, or enabled us to continue the war.

THOSE who are fond of continuing the war, cry up our conſtant

conſtant ſucceſs at a moſt prodigious rate, and reckon it infinitely greater than in all human probability we had reaſon to hope. Ten glorious campaigns are paſſed, and now at laſt, like the ſick man, we are juſt expiring with all ſorts of good ſymptoms. Did the adviſers of this war ſuppoſe it would continue ten years without expecting the ſucceſs we have had; and yet at the ſame time determine, that France muſt be reduced, and Spain ſubdued, by employing our whole ſtrength upon Flanders? Did they believe, the laſt war left us in a condition to furniſh ſuch vaſt ſupplies for ſo long a period without involving us and our poſterity in unextricable debts? If after ſuch miraculous *doings* we are not yet in a condition of bringing France to our terms, nor can tell when we ſhall be ſo, altho' we ſhould proceed without any reverſe of fortune; what could we look for in the ordinary courſe of things but a Flanders war of at leaſt twenty years longer? Do they indeed think, a town taken for the Dutch is a ſufficient recompence to us for ſix millions of money; which is of ſo little conſequence to determine the war, that the French may yet hold out a dozen years more, and afford a town every campaign at the ſame price?

I ſay not this by any means to detract from the army, or its leaders. Getting into the enemy's lines, paſſing rivers, and taking towns, may be actions attended with many glorious circumſtances: but when all this brings no real ſolid advantage to us; when it hath no other end than to enlarge the territories of the Dutch, and increaſe the fame and wealth of our General; I conclude, however it comes about, that things are not as they ſhould be; and that ſurely our forces and money might be better employed, both towards reducing our enemy, and working out ſome benefit to ourſelves. But the caſe is ſtill much harder; we are deſtroying many thouſand lives, exhauſting our ſubſtance, not for our own intereſt, which would be but common prudence; not for a thing indifferent, which would be ſufficient folly; but perhaps to our own deſtruction, which is perfect madneſs. We may live to feel the effects of our own valour more ſenſibly, than all the conſequences we imagine from the dominions of Spain in the Duke of Anjou. We have conquered a noble territory for the States, that will maintain

tain ſufficient troops to defend itſelf, and feed many hundred thouſand inhabitants; where all encouragement will be given to introduce and improve manufactures, which was the only advantage they wanted; and which, added to their ſkill, induſtry, and parſimony, will enable them to under-ſell us in every market of the world.

OUR ſupply of forty thouſand men according to the firſt ſtipulation, added to the quotas of the Emperor and Holland, which they were obliged to furniſh, would have made an army of near two hundred thouſand, excluſive of garriſons: enough to withſtand all the power, that France could bring againſt it; and we might have employed the reſt much better both for the common cauſe and our own advantage.

THE war in Spain muſt be imputed to the credulity of our miniſters, who ſuffered themſelves to be perſuaded by the imperial court, that the Spaniards were ſo violently affected to the houſe of Auſtria, as upon the firſt appearance there with a few troops under the Archduke the whole kingdom would immediately revolt. This we tried; and found the Emperor to have deceived either us or himſelf. Yet there we drove on the war at a prodigious diſadvantage with great expence; and, by a moſt corrupt management the only General †, who, by a courſe of conduct and fortune almoſt miraculous, had nearly put us into poſſeſſion of that kingdom, was left wholly unſupported, expoſed to the envy of his rivals, diſappointed by the caprices of a young unexperienced prince, under the guidance of a rapacious German miniſtry, and at laſt called home in diſcontent. By which our armies, both in Spain and Portugal, were made a ſacrifice to avarice, ill conduct, or treachery.

IN common prudence we ſhould either have puſhed that war with the utmoſt vigor in ſo fortunate a juncture, eſpecially ſince the gaining that kingdom was the great point, for which we pretended to continue the war; or at leaſt when we had *found* or *made* that deſign impracticable, we ſhould not have gone on in ſo expenſive a management of it; but have kept our troops on the defenſive in Catalonia, and purſued ſome other way more effectual

† The Earl of Peterborough.

effectual for diſtreſſing the common enemy, and advantaging ourſelves.

AND what a noble field of honour and profit had we before us, wherein to employ the beſt of our ſtrength, which, againſt all maxims of Britiſh policy, we ſuffered to lie wholly neglected! I have ſometimes wondered how it came to paſs, that the ſtyle of *maritime powers*, by which our allies in a ſort of contemptuous manner uſually couple us with the Dutch, did never put us in mind of the ſea; and while ſome politicians were ſhewing us the way to Spain by Flanders, others to Savoy or Naples, that the Weſt-Indies ſhould never come into their heads. With half the charge we have been at, we might have maintained our original *quota* of forty thouſand men in Flanders, and at the ſame time by our fleets and naval forces have ſo diſtreſſed the Spaniards in the north and ſouth ſeas of America, as to prevent any returns of money from thence except in our own bottoms. This is what beſt became us to do as a *maritime power*; this, with any common degree of ſucceſs, would ſoon have compelled France to the neceſſities of a peace, and Spain to acknowledge the Archduke. But while we for ten years have been ſquandering away our money upon the continent, France hath been wiſely engroſſing all the trade of Peru, going directly with their ſhips to Lima and other ports, and there receiving ingots of gold and ſilver for French goods of little value; which, beſides the mighty advantage to their nation at preſent, may divert the channel of that trade for the future, ſo beneficial to us, who uſed to receive annually ſuch vaſt ſums at Cadiz for our goods ſent thence to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies. All this we tamely ſaw and ſuffered without the leaſt attempt to hinder it; except what was performed by ſome private men at Briſtol, who inflamed by a true ſpirit of courage and induſtry did, about three years ago, with a few veſſels fitted out at their own charge, make a moſt ſucceſsful voyage into thoſe parts; took one of the Aquapulco ſhips, very narrowly miſt the other, and are lately returned laden with unenvied wealth, to ſhew us what might have been done with the like management by a public undertaking. At leaſt we might eaſily have prevented thoſe great returns of money to France and Spain, alſo

altho' we could not have taken it ourſelves. And if it be true, as the advocates for war would have it, that the French are now ſo impoveriſhed, in what condition muſt they have been if that iſſue of wealth had been ſtopped?

BUT great events often turn upon very ſmall circumſtances. It was the kingdom's misfortune, that the ſea was not the Duke of Marlborough's element; otherwiſe the whole force of the war would infallibly have been beſtowed there infinitely to the advantage of his country, which would then have gone hand in hand with his own. But it is very truly objected, that if we alone had made ſuch an attempt as this, Holland would have been jealous; or if we had done it in conjunction with Holland, the houſe of Auſtria would have been diſcontented. This hath been the ſtyle of late years; which whoever introduced among us, they have taught our allies to ſpeak after them. Otherwiſe it could hardly enter into any imagination, that while we were confederates in a war with thoſe who are to have the whole profit, and who leave a double ſhare of the burden upon us, we dare not think of any deſign (altho' againſt the common enemy) where there is the leaſt proſpect of doing good to our own country, for fear of giving umbrage and offence to our allies, while we are ruining ourſelves to conquer provinces and kingdoms for them. I therefore confeſs with ſhame, that this objection is true: for it is very well known, that while the deſign of Mr Hill's expedition † remained a ſecret, it was ſuſpected in Holland and Germany to be intended againſt Peru; whereupon the Dutch made every where their public complaints; and the miniſters at Vienna talked of it as an *inſolence in the Queen to attempt ſuch an undertaking*; which altho' it has failed, partly by the accidents of a ſtorm, and partly by the ſtubbornneſs or treachery of ſome in that colony, for whoſe relief, and at whoſe entreaty, it was in ſome meaſure deſigned, is no objection at all to an enterprize ſo well concerted, and with ſuch fair probability of ſucceſs.

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† The expedition in 1711, wherein Sir Hovenden Walker commanded the fleet, and Mr Hill the land forces for the reduction of Quebec and Canada, and regaining the Newfoundland fiſhery, which the French had taken from us. *Hawkeſ.*

IT was ſomething ſingular that the States ſhould expreſs their uneaſineſs, when they thought we intended to make ſome attempt in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies; becauſe it is agreed between us, that whatever is conquered there by us or them ſhall belong to the conqueror; which is the only article that I can call to mind in all our treaties or ſtipulations with any view of intereſt to this kingdom; and for that very reaſon, I ſuppoſe, among others, hath been altogether neglected. Let thoſe, who think this too ſevere a reflection, examine the whole management of the preſent war by ſea and land, with all our alliances, treaties, ſtipulations and conventions, and conſider whether the whole doth not look, as if ſome particular care and induſtry had been uſed to prevent any benefit or advantage, that might poſſibly accrue to Britain?

THIS kind of treatment from our two principal allies hath taught the ſame dialect to all the reſt; ſo that there is not a petty prince whom we half maintain by ſubſidies and penſions, who is not ready upon every occaſion to threaten us, that he will recal his troops (altho' they muſt rob or ſtarve at home) if we refuſe to comply with him in any demand, however unreaſonable.

UPON the third head I ſhall produce ſome inſtances to ſhew, how tamely we have ſuffered each of our allies to infringe every article in thoſe treaties and ſtipulations, by which they were bound; and to lay the load upon us.

BUT before I enter upon this, which is a large ſubject, I ſhall take leave to offer a few remarks on certain articles in three of our treaties; which may let us perceive how much thoſe miniſters valued or underſtood the true intereſt, ſafety, or honour of their country.

WE have made two alliances with Portugal, an offenſive and a defenſive: the firſt is to remain in force only during the preſent war; the ſecond to be perpetual. In the offenſive alliance, the Emperor, England, and Holland are parties with Portugal; in the defenſive, only we and the States.

UPON the firſt article of the offenſive alliance it is to be obſerved, that altho' the grand alliance, as I have already ſaid, allows England and Holland to poſſeſs for their own whatever each of them ſhall conquer in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies; yet there we are quite cut out by conſent-

ing, that the Archduke ſhall poſſeſs the dominions of Spain in as full a manner as their late K. Charles. And what is more remarkable, we broke this very article in favour of Portugal by ſubſequent ſtipulations; where we agree that K. Charles ſhall deliver up Eſtramadura, Vigo, and ſome other places to the Portugueſe, as ſoon as we can conquer them from the enemy. They, who are guilty of ſo much folly and contradiction, know beſt whether it proceeded from corruption or ſtupidity.

By two other articles (beſides the honour of being convoys and guards in ordinary to the Portugueſe ſhips and coaſts) we are to gueſs the enemy's thoughts, and to take the King of Portugal's word whenever he hath a fancy that he ſhall be invaded. We are alſo to furniſh him with a ſtrength ſuperior to what the enemy intends to invade any of his dominions with, let that be what it will. And until we know what the enemy's forces are, his Portugueſe Majeſty is ſole judge what ſtrength is ſuperior, and what will be able to prevent an invaſion; and may ſend our fleets whenever he pleaſes upon his errands to ſome of the farther parts of the world, or keep them attending upon his own coaſts till he think fit to diſmiſs them. Theſe fleets muſt likewiſe be ſubject in all things not only to the king, but to his viceroys, admirals, and governors in any of his foreign dominions, when he is in an humour to apprehend an invaſion; which, I believe, is an indignity that was never offered before, except to a conquered nation.

In the defenſive alliance with that crown, which is to remain perpetual, and where only England and Holland are parties with them, the ſame care in almoſt the ſame words is taken for our fleet to attend their coaſts and foreign dominions, and to be under the ſame obedience. We and the States are likewiſe to furniſh them with twelve thouſand men at our own charge, which we are conſtantly to recruit; and theſe are to be ſubject to the Portugueſe generals.

In the offenſive alliance we took no care of having the aſſiſtance of Portugal, whenever we ſhould be invaded; but in this it ſeems we are wiſer; for that King is obliged to make war on France or Spain, whenever we or Holland are invaded by either; but before this we are to

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ſupply them with the ſame forces both by ſea and land, as if he were invaded himſelf. And this muſt needs be a very prudent and ſafe courſe for a maritime power to take upon a ſudden invaſion; by which, inſtead of making uſe of our fleets and arms for our own defence, we muſt ſend them abroad for the defence of Portugal.

By the thirteenth article we are told what this aſſiſtance is which the Portugueſe are to give us, and upon what conditions. They are to furniſh ten men of war; and when England and Holland ſhall be invaded by France and Spain together, or by Spain alone, in either of theſe caſes thoſe ten Portugueſe men of war are to ſerve only upon their own coaſts; where no doubt they will be of mighty uſe to their allies, and terror to the enemy.

How the Dutch were drawn to have a part in either of theſe two alliances is not very material to enquire, ſince they have been ſo wiſe as never to obſerve them; and, I ſuppoſe, never intended it; but reſolved, as they have ſince done, to ſhift the load upon us.

LET any man read theſe two treaties from the beginning to the end, he will imagine that the King of Portugal and his miniſters ſat down and made them by themſelves, and then ſent them to their allies to ſign; the whole ſpirit and tenor of them quite thro' running only upon this ſingle point, what we and Holland are to do for Portugal, without any mention of an equivalent, except thoſe ten ſhips, which, at the time when we have greateſt need of their aſſiſtance, are obliged to attend upon their own coaſts.

THE barrier-treaty between Great-Britain and Holland was concluded at the Hague, on the 29th of October in the year 1709. In this treaty neither her Majeſty nor her kingdoms have any intereſt or concern, farther than what is mentioned in the ſecond and the twentieth articles: by the former the States are to aſſiſt the QUEEN in defending the act of ſucceſſion; and by the other, not to treat of a peace, till France hath acknowledged the Queen and the ſucceſſion of Hanover, and promiſed to remove the Pretender out of that King's dominions.

As to the firſt of theſe, it is certainly for the ſafety and intereſt of the States General, that the proteſtant ſucceſſion ſhould be preſerved in England; becauſe ſuch a

poſſible Prince as we apprehended, would infallibly join with France in the ruin of that republic. And the Dutch are as much bound to ſupport our ſucceſſion, as they are tied to any part of a treaty or league offenſive and defenſive againſt a common enemy, without any ſeparate benefit upon that conſideration. Her Majeſty is in the full peaceable poſſeſſion of her kingdoms, and of the hearts of her people; among whom hardly one in five thouſand are in the Pretender's intereſt. And whether the aſſiſtance of the Dutch, to preſerve a right ſo well eſtabliſhed, be an equivalent to thoſe many unreaſonable exorbitant articles in the reſt of the treaty, let the world judge. What an impreſſion of our ſettlement muſt it give abroad, to ſee our miniſters offering ſuch conditions to the Dutch to prevail on them to be guarantees of our acts of parliament! neither perhaps is it right in point of policy or good ſenſe, that a foreign power ſhould be called in to confirm our ſucceſſion by way of guarantee, but only to acknowledge it; otherwiſe we put it out of the power of our own legiſlature to change our ſucceſſion without the conſent of that Prince or State, who is guarantee, how much ſoever the neceſſities of the kingdom may require it.

As to the other article, it is a natural conſequence that muſt attend any treaty of peace we can make with France; being only the acknowledgment of her Majeſty as Queen of her own dominions, and the right of ſucceſſion by our own laws, which no foreign power hath any pretence to diſpute.

HOWEVER, in order to deſerve theſe mighty advantages from the States, the reſt of the treaty is wholly taken up in directing what we are to do for them.

BY the grand alliance, which was the foundation of the preſent war, the Spaniſh Low-Countries were to be recovered and delivered to the King of Spain; but by this treaty, that Prince is to poſſeſs nothing in Flanders during the war; and after a peace the States are to have the military command of about twenty towns, with their dependences, and four hundred thouſand crowns a year from the King of Spain to maintain their garriſons. By which means they will have the command of all Flanders, from Newport on the ſea to Namur on the Maeſe, and be entirely maſters of the Pais de Waas, the richeſt

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part of thoſe provinces. Further, they have liberty to garriſon any place they ſhall think fit in the Spaniſh Low-Countries, whenever there is an appearance of war; and conſequently to put garriſons into Oſtend, or where elſe they pleaſe, upon a rupture with England.

BY this treaty likewiſe the Dutch will in effect be entire maſters of all the Low-Countries; may impoſe duties, reſtrictions in commerce, and prohibitions at their pleaſure; and in that fertile country may ſet up all ſorts of manufactures, particularly the woollen, by inviting the diſobliged manufacturers in Ireland, and the French refugees, who are ſcattered all over Germany. And as this manufacture increaſeth abroad, the clothing people of England will be neceſſitated for want of employment to follow; and in few years, by help of the low intereſt of money in Holland, Flanders may recover that beneficial trade, which we got from them. The landed men of England will then be forced to re-eſtabliſh the ſtaples of wool abroad; and the Dutch, inſtead of being only the carriers, will become the original poſſeſſors of thoſe commodities, with which the greateſt part of the trade of the world is now carried on. And as they increaſe their trade, it is obvious they will enlarge their ſtrength at ſea, and that ours muſt leſſen in proportion.

ALL the ports in Flanders are to be ſubject to the like duties, that the Dutch ſhall lay upon the Scheld, which is to be cloſed on the ſide of the States: thus all other nations are in effect ſhut out from trading with Flanders. Yet in the very ſame article it is ſaid, that *the States ſhall be favoured in all the Spaniſh dominions as much as Great Britain, or as the people moſt favoured.* We have conquered Flanders for them, and are in a worſe condition as to our trade there, than before the war began. We have been the great ſupport of the King of Spain, to whom the Dutch have hardly contributed any thing at all; and yet they are to be equally favoured with us in all his dominions. Of all this the QUEEN is under the unreaſonable obligation of being guarantee, and that they ſhall poſſeſs their barrier and their four hundred thouſand crowns a year, even before a peace.

IT is to be obſerved, that this treaty was only ſigned

by one of our plenipotentiaries*; and I have been told, that the other was heard to say †, he would rather lose his right-hand than set it to such a treaty. Had he spoke those words in due season, and loud enough to be heard on this side the water, considering the credit he had then at court, he might have saved much of his country's honour, and got as much to himself; therefore, if the report be true, I am inclined to think he only SAID it. I have been likewise told, that some very necessary circumstances were wanting in the entrance upon this treaty; but the ministers here rather chose to sacrifice the honour of the crown, and the safety of their country, than not ratify what one of their favourites had transacted.

LET me now consider in what manner our allies have observed those treaties they made with us, and the several stipulations and agreements pursuant to them.

BY the grand alliance between the Empire, England, and Holland we were to assist the other two *totis viribus*, by sea and land. By a convention subsequent to this treaty, the proportions, which the several parties should contribute towards the war, were adjusted in the following manner: the Emperor was obliged to furnish ninety thousand men against France, either in Italy, or upon the Rhine; Holland to bring sixty thousand into the field in Flanders, exclusive of *garrisons*; and we forty thousand. In winter 1702, which was the next year, the Duke of Marlborough proposed raising ten thousand men more by way of augmentation, and to carry on the war with greater vigour; to which the parliament agreed, and the Dutch were to raise the same number. This was upon a *pa*, directly contrary to the former stipulation, whereby our part was to be a third less than theirs; and therefore it was granted with a condition that Holland should break off all trade and commerce with France. But this condition was never executed; the Dutch only amusing us with a specious declaration, till our session of parliament was ended; and the following year it was taken off by concert between our General and the States, without any reason assigned, for the satisfaction of the kingdom.

* Lord Townshend. See John Bull. p. 203. vol. 8.
† Duke of Marlborough.

kingdom. The next and ſome enſuing campaigns further additional forces were allowed by parliament for the war in Flanders; and in every new ſupply the Dutch gradually leſſened their proportions, altho' the parliament addreſſed the QUEEN, that the States might be deſired to obſerve them according to agreement; which had no other effect, than to teach them to elude it by making their troops nominal corps; as they did by keeping up the number of regiments, but ſinking a fifth part of the men and money: ſo that now things are juſt inverted. And in all new levies we contributed a third more than the Dutch, who at firſt were obliged to the ſame proportion more than us.

BESIDES, the more towns we conquer for the States, the worſe condition we are in towards reducing the common enemy, and conſequently of putting an end to the war. For they make no ſcruple of employing the troops of their *quota* towards garriſoning every town, as faſt as it is taken; directly contrary to the agreement between us, by which all garriſons are particularly excluded. This is at length arrived, by ſeveral ſteps, to ſuch a height, that there are at preſent in the field not ſo many forces under the Duke of Marlborough's command in Flanders, as Britain alone maintains for that ſervice, nor have been for ſome years paſt.

THE Duke of Marlborough having entered the enemies lines and taken Bouchain, formed the deſign of keeping ſo great a number of troops, and particularly of cavalry, in Liſle, Tournay, Doway, and the country between, as ſhould be able to haraſs all the neighbouring provinces of France during the winter, prevent the enemy from erecting their magazines, and, by conſequence, from ſubſiſting their forces next ſpring, and render it impoſſible for them to aſſemble their army another year, without going back behind the Scame to do it. In order to effect this project, it was neceſſary to be at an expence extraordinary of forage for the troops, for building ſtables, finding fire and candle for the ſoldiers, with other incident charges. The QUEEN readily agreed to furniſh her ſhare of the firſt article, that of the forage, which only belonged to her. But the States inſiſting, that her Majeſty ſhould likewiſe come into a proportion of the

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other articles, which in juſtice belonged totally to them; ſhe agreed even to that, rather than a deſign of this importance ſhould fail. And yet we know it hath failed, and that the Dutch refuſed their conſent till the time was paſt for putting it in execution, even in the opinion of thoſe who propoſed it. Perhaps a certain article in the treaties of contributions ſubmitted to by ſuch of the French dominions, as pay them to the States, was the principal cauſe of defeating this project; ſince one great advantage to have been gained by it was, as is before mentioned, to have hindred the enemy from erecting their magazines; and one article in thoſe treaties of contributions is, that the product of thoſe countries ſhall paſs free and unmoleſted. So that the queſtion was reduced to this ſhort iſſue: whether the Dutch ſhould loſe this paultry benefit, or the common cauſe an advantage of ſuch mighty importance.

THE ſea being the element, where we might moſt probably carry on the war with any advantage to ourſelves, it was agreed, that we ſhould bear five eights of the charge in that ſervice, and the Dutch the other three; and, by the grand alliance, whatever we or Holland ſhould conquer in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, was to accrue to the conquerors. It might therefore have been hoped, that this *maritime ally* of ours would have made up in their fleet what they fell ſhort in their army; but quite otherwiſe, they never once furniſhed their *quota* either of ſhips or men; or if ſome few of their fleet now and then appeared, it was no more than appearing; for they immediately ſeparated to look to their merchants, and protect their trade. And we may remember very well, when theſe guarantees of our ſucceſſion, after having not one ſhip for many months together in the Mediterranean, ſent that part of their *quota* thither, and furniſhed nothing to us, at the ſame time that they alarmed us with the rumour of an invaſion. And laſt year when Sir James Wiſhart was diſpatched into Holland to expoſtulate with the States, and to deſire they would make good their agreements in ſo important a part of the ſervice; he met with ſuch a reception as ill became a republic to give, that were under ſo many great obligations to us; in ſhort,

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ſuch an one as thoſe only deſerve who are content to take it.

IT hath likewiſe been no ſmall inconvenience to us, that the Dutch are always ſlow in paying their ſubſidies; by which means the weight and preſſure of the payment lies upon the Queen, as well as the blame if her Majeſty be not very exact. Nor will even this always content our allies: for, in July 1711, the King of Spain was paid all his ſubſidies to the firſt of January next; nevertheleſs he hath ſince complained for want of money; and his *ſecretary* threatened, that if we would not further ſupply his Majeſty, he could not anſwer for what might happen; altho' K. Charles had not at that time one third of the troops for which he was paid; and even thoſe he had were neither paid nor cloathed.

I cannot forbear mentioning here another paſſage concerning ſubſidies, to ſhew what opinion foreigners have of our eaſineſs, and how much they reckon themſelves maſters of our money whenever they think fit to call for it. The Queen was by agreement to pay two hundred thouſand crowns a year to the Pruſſian troops; the States one hundred thouſand; and the Emperor only thirty thouſand for recruiting; which his Imperial Majeſty never paid. Prince Eugene happening to paſs by Berlin, the miniſters of that court applied to him for redreſs in this particular; and his Highneſs very frankly promiſed them, that in conſideration of this deficiency, Britain and the States ſhould increaſe their ſubſidies to ſeventy thouſand crowns more between them; and that the Emperor ſhould be punctual for the time to come. This was done by that Prince without any orders or power whatſoever. The Dutch very reaſonably refuſed conſenting to it; but the Pruſſian miniſter here making his applications at our court prevailed on us to agree to our proportion, before we could hear what reſolution would be taken in Holland. It is therefore to be hoped, that his Pruſſian Majeſty, at the end of this war, will not have the ſame cauſe of complaint, which he had at the cloſe of the laſt; that his military'cheſt was emptier by twenty thouſand crowns than at the time that war began.

THE Emperor, as we have already ſaid, was by ſtipulation to furniſh ninety thouſand men againſt the common

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enemy, as having no fleets to maintain, and in right of his family being moſt concerned in the ſucceſs of the war. However, this agreement hath been ſo ill obſerved, that from the beginning of the war to this day, neither of the two laſt Emperors had ever twenty thouſand men on their own account in the common cauſe, excepting once in Italy, when the *imperial* court exerted itſelf in a point they have much more at heart, than that of gaining Spain or the Indies to their family. When they had ſucceeded in their attempts on the ſide of Italy, and obſerved our blind zeal for puſhing on the war at all adventures, they ſoon found out the moſt effectual expedient to excuſe themſelves. They computed eaſily, that it would coſt them leſs to make large preſents to one ſingle perſon than to pay an army, and turn to as good account. They thought they could not put their affairs into better hands; and therefore wiſely left us to fight their battles.

BESIDES, it appeared by ſeveral inſtances how little the Emperor regarded his allies, or the cauſe they were engaged in, when once he thought the *empire* itſelf was ſecure. It is known enough, that he might ſeveral times have made a peace with his diſcontented ſubjects in Hungary upon terms not at all unbefitting either his dignity or intereſt; but he rather choſe to ſacrifice the whole alliance to his private paſſion by entirely ſubduing and enſlaving a miſerable people, who had but too much provocation to take up arms to free themſelves from the oppreſſions under which they were groaning; yet this muſt ſerve as an excuſe for breaking his agreement, and diverting ſo great a body of troops, which might have been employed againſt France.

ANOTHER inſtance of the Emperor's indifference, or rather diſlike to the common cauſe of the allies, is the buſineſs of Toulon. This deſign was indeed diſcovered here at home by a perſon whom every body knows to be the creature of a certain *great man*, at leaſt as much noted for his ſkill in gaming as in politics, upon the baſe mercenary end of getting money by wagers, which was then ſo common a practice, that I remember a gentleman in buſineſs, who having the curioſity to enquire how wagers went upon the Exchange, found ſome people deep in the ſecret to have been concerned in that kind of traffic;

traffic; as appeared by premiums named for towns which no-body but thoſe behind the curtain could ſuſpect. However, altho' this project had gotten wind by ſo ſcandalous a proceeding; yet Toulon might probably have been taken, if the Emperor had not thought fit in that very juncture to detach twelve or fifteen thouſand men to ſeize Naples, as an enterprize that was more his private and immediate intereſt. But it was manifeſt, that his Imperial Majeſty had no mind to ſee Toulon in poſſeſſion of the allies; for even with theſe diſcouragements the attempt might yet have ſucceeded, if Pr. Eugene had not thought fit to oppoſe it; which cannot be imputed to his own judgment, but to ſome politic reaſons of his court. The Duke of Savoy was for attacking the enemy as ſoon as our army arrived; but when the Mareſchal de Theſſe's troops were all come up, to pretend to beſiege the place, in the condition we were at that time, was a farce and a jeſt. Had Toulon fallen then into our hands, the maritime power of France would, in a great meaſure, have been deſtroyed.

BUT a much greater inſtance than either of the foregoing, how little the Emperor regarded us or our quarrel, after all we had done to ſave his Imperial crown, and to aſſert the title of his brother to the monarchy of Spain, may be brought from the proceedings of that court not many months ago. It was judged, that a war carried on upon the ſide of Italy would cauſe a great diverſion of the French forces, wound them in a very tender part, and facilitate the progreſs of our arms in Spain as well as Flanders. It was propoſed to the Duke of Savoy to make this diverſion; and not only a diverſion during the ſummer, but the winter too by taking quarters on this ſide of the hills. Only in order to make him willing and able to perform this work two points were to be ſettled: firſt, it was neceſſary to end the diſpute between the *imperial* court and his Roval Highneſs, which had no other foundation than the Emperor's refuſing to make good ſome articles of that treaty, on the faith of which the Duke engaged in the preſent war, and for the execution whereof Britain and Holland became guarantees at the requeſt of the late Emperor Leopold. To remove this difficulty the Earl of Peterborough was diſpatched

to Vienna, got over ſome part of thoſe diſputes to the ſatisfaction of the Duke of Savoy, and had put the reſt in a fair way of being accommodated at the time the Emperor Joſeph died. Upon which great event the Duke of Savoy took the reſolution of putting himſelf at the head of the army, altho' the whole matter was not finiſhed, ſince the common cauſe required his aſſiſtance; and that until a new Emperor were elected, it was impoſſible to make good the treaty to him. In order to enable him, the only thing he aſked was, that he ſhould be reinforced by the Imperial court with eight thouſand men before the end of the campaign. Mr Whiteworth was ſent to Vienna to make this propoſal; and it is credibly reported, that he was impowered, rather than fail, to offer forty thouſand pounds for the march of thoſe eight thouſand men, if he found it was want *of ability, and not inclination*, that hindered the ſending them. But he was ſo far from ſucceeding, that it was ſaid the miniſters of that court did not ſo much as give him an opportunity to tempt them with any particular ſums; but cut off all his hopes at once, by alledging the impoſſibility of complying with the Queen's demands upon any conſideration whatſoever. They could not plead their old excuſe of the war in Hungary, which was then brought to an end. They had nothing to offer but ſome general ſpeculative reaſons, which it would expoſe them to repeat; and ſo after much delay, and many trifling pretences, they utterly refuſed ſo ſmall and ſeaſonable an aſſiſtance; to the ruin of a project that would have more terrified France, and cauſed a greater diverſion of their forces, than a much more numerous army in any other part. Thus for want of eight thouſand men, for whoſe winter campaign the Queen was willing to give forty thouſand pounds; and for want of executing the deſign I lately mentioned, of hindering the enemy from erecting magazines, towards which her Majeſty was ready not only to bear her own proportion, but a ſhare of that which the States were obliged to; our hopes of taking winter-quarters in the north and ſouth parts of France are eluded, and the war left in that method which is like to continue it longeſt. Can there an example be given in the whole courſe of *this war*, where we have treated the pettieſt prince with whom

whom he had to deal in ſo contemptuous a manner? Did we ever once conſider what we could afford, or what we were obliged to when our aſſiſtance was deſired, even while we lay under immediate apprehenſions of being invaded.

WHEN Portugal came as a confederate into the grand alliance, it was ſtipulated, that the Empire, England, and Holland ſhould each maintain four thouſand men of their own troops in that kingdom, and pay between them a million of pattacoons to the King of Portugal for the ſupport of twenty eight thouſand Portugueſe; which number of forty thouſand was to be the confederate army againſt Spain on the Portugal ſide. This treaty was ratified by all the three powers But in a ſhort time after the Emperor declared himſelf unable to comply with his part of the agreement, and ſo left the two thirds upon us; who very generouſly undertook that burden, and at the ſame time two thirds of the ſubſidies for maintenance of the Portugueſe troops. But neither is this the worſt part of the ſtory; for altho' the Dutch did indeed ſend their own *quota* of four thouſand men to Portugal (which however they would not agree to but upon condition that the other two thirds ſhould be ſupplied by us;) yet they never took care to recruit them: for in the year 1706, the Portugueſe, Britiſh, and Dutch forces having marched with the Earl of Galway into Caſtile, and by the noble conduct of that general being forced to retire into Valencia, it was found neceſſary to raiſe a new army on the Portugal ſide; where the Queen hath, at ſeveral times, encreaſed her eſtabliſhment to ten thouſand five hundred men; and the Dutch never replaced one ſingle man, nor paid one penny of their ſubſidies to Portugal in ſix years.

THE Spaniſh army on the ſide of Catalonia is, or ought to be, about fifty thouſand men, excluſive of Portugal. And here the war hath been carried on almoſt entirely at our coſt. For this whole army is paid by the Queen, excepting only ſeven battalions and fourteen ſquadrons of Dutch and Palatines; and even fifteen hundred of theſe are likewiſe in our pay; beſides the ſums given to King Charles for ſubſidies and the maintenance of his court. Neither are our troops at Gibraltar included within this number. And further, we alone have been at all the

charge of tranſporting the forces firſt ſent from Genoa to Barcelona; and of all the *imperial* recruits from time to time. And have likewiſe paid vaſt ſums as levy-money for every individual man and horſe ſo furniſhed to recruit; altho' the horſes were ſcarce worth the price of tranſportation. But this hath been almoſt the conſtant misfortune of our fleet during the preſent war; inſtead of being employed on ſome enterprize for the good of the nation, or even for the protection of our trade, to be wholly taken up in tranſporting ſoldiers.

WE have actually conquered all Bavaria, Ulm, Augſbourg, Landau, and a great part of Alſace, for the Emperor: and by the troops we have furniſhed, the armies we have paid, and the diverſions we have given to the enemies forces, have chiefly contributed to the conqueſts of Milan, Mantua, and Mirandola, and to the recovery of the dutchy of Modena. The laſt Emperor drained the wealth of thoſe countries into his own coffers, without increaſing his troops againſt France by ſuch mighty acquiſitions, or yielding to the moſt reaſonable requeſts we have made.

OF the many towns we have taken for the Dutch, we have conſented by the barrier treaty, that all thoſe which were not in the poſſeſſion of Spain, upon the death of the late Catholic King, ſhall be part of the States dominions; and that they ſhall have the military power in the moſt conſiderable of the reſt; which is in effect to be the abſolute ſovereigns of the whole. And the Hollanders have already made ſuch good uſe of their time, that in conjunction with our General the oppreſſions of Flanders are much greater than ever.

AND this treatment, which we have received from our two principal allies, hath been pretty well copied by moſt other princes in the confederacy, with whom we have any dealings. For inſtance: ſeven Portugueſe regiments, after the battle of Almanza, went off with the reſt of that broken army to Catalonia; the King of Portugal ſaid he was not able to pay them, while they were out of his country; the Queen conſented therefore to do it herſelf, provided the King would raiſe as many more to ſupply their place. This he engaged to do, but never performed. *Notwithſtanding* which, his ſubſidies were conſtantly paid

him

him by my Lord Godolphin for almoſt four years, without any deduction upon account of thoſe ſeven regiments; directly contrary to the ſeventh article of our offenſive alliance with that crown, where it is agreed, that a deduction ſhall be made out of thoſe ſubſidies, in proportion to the number of men wanting in that complement which the King is to maintain. But whatever might have been the reaſons for this proceeding, it ſeems they are above the underſtanding of the preſent Lord Treaſurer *; who not entering into thoſe refinements of paying the public money upon private conſiderations, hath been ſo uncourtly as to ſtop it. This diſappointment, I ſuppoſe, hath put the court of Liſbon upon other expedients, of raiſing the price of forage, ſo as to force us either to leſſen our number of troops, or be at double expence in maintaining them; and this at a time, when their own product as well as the import of corn was never greater; and of demanding a duty upon the ſoldiers cloaths we carried over for thoſe troops, which have been their ſole defence againſt an inveterate enemy; and whoſe example might have infuſed courage as well as taught them diſcipline, if their ſpirits had been capable of receiving either.

In order to augment our forces every year in the ſame proportion as thoſe for whom we fight diminiſh theirs, we have been obliged to hire troops from ſeveral princes of the empire, whoſe miniſters and reſidents here have perpetually importuned the court with unreaſonable demands, under which our late miniſters thought fit to be paſſive. For thoſe demands were always backed with a threat to recall their ſoldiers; which was a thing not to be heard of, becauſe it might diſcontent the Dutch. In the mean time thoſe princes never ſent their contingent to the Emperor, as by the laws of the empire they are obliged to do; but gave for their excuſe, that we had already hired all they could poſſibly ſpare.

But if all this be true; if, according to what I have affirmed, we began this war contrary to reaſon; if, as the other party themſelves upon all occaſions acknowlege, the ſucceſs we have had was more than we could reaſonably expect; if after all our ſucceſs we have not made that uſe of it, which in reaſon we ought to have done

* Earl of Oxford.

done; if we have made weak and fooliſh bargains with our allies; ſuffered them tamely to break every article, even in thoſe bargains to our diſadvantage, and allowed them to treat us with inſolence and contempt, at the very inſtant when we were gaining towns, provinces, and kingdoms for them, at the price of our ruin, and without any proſpect of intereſt to ourſelves; if we have conſumed all our ſtrength in attacking the enemy on the ſtrongeſt ſide, where (as the old Duke of Schomberg expreſſed it) *to engage with France was to take a bull by the horns*; and left wholly unattempted that part of the war, which could only enable us to continue or to end it; if all this, I ſay, be our caſe, it is a very obvious queſtion to aſk, by what motives, or what management we are thus become the dupes and bubbles of Europe? Sure it cannot be owing to the ſtupidity ariſing from the coldneſs of our climate; ſince thoſe among our allies, who have given us moſt reaſon to complain, are as far removed from the ſun as ourſelves.

IF in laying open the real cauſes of our preſent miſery I am forced to ſpeak with ſome freedom, I think it will require no apology. Reputation is the ſmalleſt ſacrifice thoſe can make us, who have been the inſtruments of our ruin; becauſe it is that for which, in all probability, they have the leaſt value. So that in expoſing the actions of ſuch perſons it cannot be ſaid, properly ſpeaking, to do them an injury. But as it will be ſome ſatisfaction to our people to know by whom they have been ſo long abuſed; ſo it may be of great uſe to us, and our poſterity, not to truſt the ſafety of their country in the hands of thoſe, who act by ſuch principles, and from ſuch motives.

I have already obſerved, that when the counſels of this war were debated in the late King's time, a certain great man was then ſo averſe from entering into it, that he rather choſe to give up his employment, and tell the King he could ſerve him no longer. Upon that Prince's death, altho' the grounds of our quarrel with France had received no manner of addition, yet this Lord thought fit to alter his ſentiments; for the ſcene was quite changed; his Lordſhip, and the family with whom he was engaged by ſo complicated an alliance, were in the higheſt credit

credit poſſible with the Queen. The treaſurer's ſtaff was ready for his Lordſhip, the Duke* was to command the army, and the Ducheſs, by her employments, and the favour ſhe was poſſeſſed of, to be always neareſt her Majeſty's perſon; by which the whole power at home and abroad would be devolved upon that family. This was a proſpect ſo very inviting, that to confeſs the truth it could not be eaſily withſtood by any, who have ſo keen an appetite for wealth or power. By an agreement, ſubſequent to the grand alliance, we were to aſſiſt the Dutch with forty thouſand men, all to be commanded by the Duke of Marlborough. So that whether this war was prudently begun, or not, it is plain that the true ſpring or motive of it was the aggrandizing a particular family; and in ſhort a war of the *general* and the *miniſtry*, and not of the *prince* or *people*; ſince thoſe very perſons were againſt it when they knew the power and conſequently the profit would be in other hands.

WITH theſe meaſures fell in all that ſet of people, who are called the *monied men*; ſuch as had raiſed vaſt ſums by trading with ſtocks and funds, and lending upon great intereſt and premiums; whoſe perpetual harveſt is war, and whoſe beneficial way of traffic muſt very much decline by a peace.

IN that whole chain of encroachments made upon us by the Dutch, which I have above deduced; and under thoſe ſeveral groſs impoſitions from other princes if any one ſhould aſk, why our General continued ſo eaſy to the laſt? I know no other way ſo probable, or indeed ſo charitable to account for it, as by that unmeaſurable love of wealth, which his beſt friends allow to be his predominant paſſion. However, I ſhall wave any thing that is perſonal upon this ſubject. I ſhall ſay nothing of thoſe great preſents made by ſeveral princes, which the ſoldiers uſed to call *winter foraging*, and ſaid it was better than that of the *ſummer*; of two and half *per cent.* ſubſtracted out of all the ſubſidies we pay in thoſe parts, which amounts to no inconſiderable ſum; and, laſtly, of the grand perquiſites in a long ſucceſsful war, which are ſo amicably adjuſted between him and the States.

* Duke of Marlborough.

BUT when the war was thus begun, there ſoon fell in other incidents here at home, which made the continuance of it neceſſary for thoſe, who were the chief advi-ſers. The Whigs were at that time out of all credit or conſideration. The reigning favourites had always carried what was called the *tory principles* at leaſt as high as our conſtitution could bear; and moſt others in great employments were wholly in the church intereſt. Theſe laſt, among whom were ſeveral perſons of the greateſt merit, quality, and conſequence, were not able to endure the many inſtances of pride, inſolence, avarice, and ambition, which thoſe favourites began ſo early to diſcover, nor to ſee them preſuming to be ſole diſpenſers of the royal favour. However, their oppoſition was to no purpoſe: they wreſtled with too great a power, and were ſoon cruſhed under it. For thoſe in poſſeſſion finding they could never be quiet in their uſurpations, while others had any credit, who were at leaſt upon an equal foot of merit, began to make overtures to the diſcarded Whigs, who would be content with any terms of accommodation. Thus commenced this *Solemn League and Covenant*, which hath ever ſince been cultivated with ſo much application. The great traders in money were wholly devoted to the Whigs, who had firſt raiſed them. The army, the court, and the treaſury, continued under the old deſpotic adminiſtration: the Whigs were received into employment, left to manage the parliament, cry down the landed intereſt, and worry the church. Mean time our allies, who were not ignorant, that all this artificial ſtructure had no true foundation in the hearts of the people, reſolved to make the beſt uſe of it as long as it ſhould laſt. And the General's credit being raiſed to a great height at home by our ſucceſs in Flanders, the Dutch began their gradual impoſitions; leſſening their *quotas*, breaking their ſtipulations, garriſoning the towns we took for them, without ſupplying their troops; with many other infringements: all which we were forced to ſubmit to, becauſe the General was made eaſy; becauſe the monied men at home were fond of the war; becauſe the Whigs were not firmly ſettled; and becauſe that exorbitant degree of power, which was built upon a ſuppoſed neceſſity of employing particular perſons, would go

off

off in a peace. It is needleſs to add, that the Emperor, and other princes, followed the example of the Dutch, and ſucceeded as well, for the ſame reaſons.

I have here imputed the continuance of the war to the mutual indulgence between our General and allies, wherein they both ſo well found their accounts; to the fears of the money-changers, leſt their tables ſhould be overthrown; to the deſigns of the Whigs, who apprehended the loſs of their credit and employments in a peace; and to thoſe at home, who held their immoderate engroſſments of power and favour by no other tenure, than their own preſumption upon the neceſſity of affairs. The truth of this will appear indiſputable, by conſidering with what unanimity and concert theſe ſeveral parties acted towards that great end.

WHEN the vote paſſed in the houſe of Lords againſt any peace without Spain being reſtored to the Auſtrian family, the Earl of Wharton told the houſe, that it was indeed impoſſible and impracticable to recover Spain; but however, there were certain reaſons why ſuch a vote ſhould be made at that time; which reaſons wanted no explanation: for the General and the miniſtry having refuſed to accept very advantageous offers of a peace, after the battle of Ramillies, were forced to take in a ſet of men with a previous bargain to ſkreen them from the conſequences of that miſcarriage. And accordingly, upon the firſt ſucceeding opportunity that fell, which was the Prince of Denmark's death*, the chief leaders of the party were brought into ſeveral great employments.

THUS when the Queen was no longer able to bear the tyranny and inſolence of thoſe ungrateful ſervants, who, as they waxed the fatter, did but kick the more; our two great allies abroad, and our ſtock-jobbers at home, took immediate alarm; applied the neareſt way to the throne by memorials and meſſages jointly directing her Majeſty not to change her ſecretary or treaſurer; who, for the true reaſons that theſe officious intermeddlers demanded their continuance, ought never to have been admitted into the leaſt degree of truſt; ſince what they did was nothing leſs than betraying the intereſt of their

* Prince George of Denmark, huſband to Q. Anne.

their native country to thoſe princes, who, in their turns, were to do what they could to ſupport them in power at home.

THUS it plainly appears that there was a conſpiracy on all ſides to go on with thoſe meaſures, which muſt perpetuate the war; and a conſpiracy founded upon the intereſt and ambition of each party; which begat ſo firm an union, that inſtead of wondering why it laſted ſo long, I am aſtoniſhed to think how it came to be broken. The prudence, courage, and firmneſs of her Majeſty, in all the ſteps of that great change, would, if the particulars were truly related, make a very ſhining part in her ſtory; nor is her judgment leſs to be admired, which directed her in the choice of perhaps the only perſons, who had ſkill, credit, and reſolution enough to be her inſtruments in overthrowing ſo many difficulties.

SOME would pretend to leſſen the merit of this, by telling us, that the rudeneſs, the tyranny, the oppreſſion, the ingratitude of the late favourites towards their Miſtreſs were no longer to be borne. They produce inſtances to ſhew, how her Majeſty was purſued thro' all her retreats, particularly at Windſor; where, after the enemy had poſſeſſed themſelves of every inch of ground, they at laſt attacked and ſtormed the caſtle, forcing the Queen to fly to an adjoining cottage, purſuant to the advice of Solomon, who tells us, 'It is better to live on the houſe-top, than with a ſcolding woman in a large houſe.' They would have it, that ſuch continued ill uſage was enough to enflame the meekeſt ſpirit. They blame the favourites in point of policy, and think it nothing extraordinary, that the Queen ſhould be at an end of her patience, and reſolve to diſcard them. But I am of another opinion, and think their proceedings were right. For nothing is ſo apt to break even the braveſt ſpirits as a continual chain of oppreſſions; one injury is beſt defended by a ſecond, and this by a third. By theſe ſteps the old maſters of the palace in France became maſters of the kingdom†; and by theſe ſteps a General during pleaſure might have grown into a General for life, and a General for life into a King. So that I ſtill

† See the Tale of a Tub, p. 23. vol. 2.

ſtill inſiſt upon it as a wonder, how her Majeſty, thus beſieged on all ſides, was able to extricate herſelf.

HAVING thus mentioned the real cauſes, altho' diſguiſed under ſpecious pretences, which have ſo long continued the war, I muſt beg leave to reaſon a little with thoſe perſons, who are againſt any peace but what they call a *good one*; and explain themſelves, that no peace can be *good* without an entire reſtoration of Spain to the houſe of Auſtria. It is to be ſuppoſed, that what I am to ſay upon this part of the ſubject will have little influence on thoſe, whoſe particular ends or deſigns of any ſort lead them to wiſh the continuance of the war: I mean the General and our allies abroad, the knot of late favourites at home, the body of ſuch as traffic in ſtocks, and laſtly, that ſet of factious politicians, who were ſo violently bent at leaſt upon *clipping* our conſtitution in church and ſtate. Therefore I ſhall not apply myſelf to any of theſe, but to all others indifferently, whether Whigs or Tories, whoſe private intereſt is beſt anſwered by the welfare of their country. And if among theſe there be any, who think we ought to fight on till K. Charles be quietly ſettled in the monarchy of Spain, I believe there are ſeveral points, which they have not thoroughly conſidered.

FOR firſt it is to be obſerved, that this reſolution againſt any peace without Spain is a new incident, graffed upon the original quarrel by the intrigues of a faction among us, who prevailed to give it the ſanction of a vote in both houſes of parliament to juſtify thoſe whoſe intereſt lay in perpetuating the war. And as this proceeding was againſt the practice of all princes and ſtates, whoſe intentions were fair and honourable; ſo is it contrary to common prudence as well as juſtice, I might add, that it was impious too, by preſuming to controul events which are only in the hands of God. Ours and the States complaint againſt France and Spain are deduced in each of our declarations of war, and our pretenſions ſpecified in the *eighth article* of the grand alliance; but there is not in any of theſe the leaſt mention of demanding Spain for the houſe of Auſtria, or of refuſing any peace without that condition. Having already made an extract from both declarations

declarations of war, I ſhall here give a tranſlation of the eighth article in the grand alliance, which will put this matter out of diſpute.

THE EIGHTH ARTICLE OF THE GRAND ALLIANCE.

'WHEN the war is once undertaken, none of the parties ſhall have the liberty to enter upon a treaty of peace with the enemy, but jointly and in concert with the others. Nor is peace to be made without having firſt obtained a juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction for his Cæſarean Majeſty, and for his Royal Majeſty of Great Britain, and a particular ſecurity to the Lords the States-General of their dominions, provinces, titles, navigation, and commerce: and a ſufficient proviſion, that the kingdoms of France and Spain be never united, or come under the government of the ſame perſon, or that the ſame man may never be king of both kingdoms: and particularly, that the French may never be in poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies; and that they may not have the liberty of navigation for conveniency of trade under any pretence whatſoever, neither directly or indirectly; except it is agreed, that the ſubjects of Great Britain and Holland may have full power to uſe and enjoy all the ſame privileges, rights, immunities, and liberties of commerce by land and ſea in Spain, in the Mediterranean, and in all the places and countries which the late King of Spain, at the time of his death, was in poſſeſſion of, as well in Europe, as elſewhere, as they did then uſe and enjoy; or which the ſubjects of both or each nation, could uſe and enjoy, by virtue of any right, obtained before the death of the ſaid King of Spain, either by treaties, conventions, cuſtom, or any other way whatſoever.'

HERE we ſee the demands intended to be inſiſted on by the allies, upon any treaty of peace, are, a juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction for the Emperor and King of Great Britain, a ſecurity to the States-General for their dominions, *&c.* and a ſufficient proviſion, that France and Spain be never united under the ſame man as King of both kingdoms. The reſt relates to the liberty of trade and com-

commerce for us and the Dutch; but not a ſyllable of engaging to diſpoſſeſs the Duke of Anjou.

BUT to know how this new language, of no peace without Spain, was firſt introduced, and at laſt prevailed among us, we muſt begin a great deal higher.

IT was the partition treaty, which begot the will in favour of the Duke of Anjou; for this naturally led the Spaniards to receive a Prince ſupported by a great power, whoſe intereſt as well as affection engaged them to preſerve that monarchy entire, rather than to oppoſe him in favour of another family, who muſt expect aſſiſtance from a number of confederates, whoſe principal members had already diſpoſed of what did not belong to them, and by a previous treaty parcelled out the monarchy of Spain.

THUS the Duke of Anjou got into the full poſſeſſion of all the Kingdoms and States belonging to that monarchy, as well in the old world as the new. And whatever the houſe of Auſtria pretended from their memorials to us and the States, it was at that time but too apparent, that the inclinations of the Spaniards were on the Duke's ſide.

HOWEVER, a war was reſolved; and in order to carry it on with great vigour a grand alliance formed, wherein the ends propoſed to be obtained are plainly and diſtinctly laid down, as I have already quoted them. It pleaſed God, in the courſe of this war to bleſs the arms of the allies with remarkable ſucceſſes; by which we were ſoon put into a condition of demanding and expecting ſuch terms of peace, as we propoſed to ourſelves when we began the war. But inſtead of this, our victories only ſerved to lead us on to further viſionary proſpects; advantage was taken of the ſanguine temper, which ſo many ſucceſſes had wrought the nation up to; new romantic views were propoſed, and the old, reaſonable, ſober deſign was forgot.

THIS was the artifice of thoſe here, who were ſure to grow richer, as the public became poorer; and who, after the reſolutions which the two houſes were prevailed upon to make, might have carried on the war with ſafety to themſelves, till malt and land were mortgaged, till a general exciſe was eſtabliſhed, and the *dixieme denier* raiſed by *collectors in red coats*. And this was juſt the circumſtance, which it ſuited their intereſts to be in.

THE

THE houſe of Auſtria approved this ſcheme with reaſon; ſince whatever would be obtained by the blood and treaſure of others, was to accrue to that family, while they only lent their name to the cauſe.

THE Dutch might perhaps have grown reſty under their burthen; but care was likewiſe taken of that by a *barrier-treaty* made with the States, which deſerveth ſuch epithets as I care not to beſtow; but may perhaps conſider it at a proper occaſion in a Diſcourſe by itſelf *.

BY this treaty the condition of the war with reſpect to the Dutch was wiſely altered; they fought no longer for ſecurity, but for grandeur; and we, inſtead of labouring to make them ſafe, muſt beggar ourſelves to make them formidable.

WILL any one contend, that if at the treaty of Gertruydenburgh we could have been ſatisfied with ſuch terms of a peace, as we propoſed to ourſelves by the grand alliance, the French would not have allowed them? It is plain they offered many more, and much greater, than ever we thought to inſiſt on when the war began; and they had reaſon to grant, as well as we to demand them; ſince conditions of peace do certainly turn upon events of war. But ſurely there is ſome meaſure to be obſerved in this; thoſe, who have defended the proceedings of our negotiators at the treaty of Gertruydenburgh, dwell very much upon their zeal and patience in endeavouring to work the French up to their demands; but ſay nothing to juſtify thoſe demands, or the probability that France would ever accept them. Some of the articles in that treaty were ſo very extravagant, that in all human probability we could not have obtained them by a ſucceſsful war of forty years. One of them was inconſiſtent with common reaſon; wherein the confederates reſerved to themſelves full liberty of demanding what further conditions they ſhould think fit; and in the mean time France was to deliver up ſeveral of their ſtrongeſt towns in a month. Theſe articles were very gravely ſigned by our plenipotentiaries, and thoſe of Holland; but not by the French, altho' it ought to have been done interchangeably; nay, they were brought over by the ſecretary

* Which Diſcourſe follows next in this volume.

tary of the embaſſy; and the miniſters here prevailed on the Queen to execute a ratification of articles, which only one part had ſigned. This was an abſurdity in form, as well as in reaſon; becauſe the uſual form of a ratification is with a preamble, ſhewing; "that whereas our "miniſters, and thoſe of the allies, and of the enemy, "have ſigned, &c. We ratify, &c." The perſon * who brought over the articles ſaid in all companies, (and perhaps believed) that it was a pity we had not demanded more; for the French were in a diſpoſition to refuſe us nothing we would aſk. One of our plenipotentiaries affected to have the ſame concern; and particularly that we had not obtained ſome further ſecurity for the empire on the Upper Rhine.

WHAT could be the deſign of all this grimace but to amuſe the people, and to raiſe ſtocks for their friends in the ſecret to ſell to advantage? I have too great a reſpect for the abilities of thoſe who acted in this negotiation, to believe they hoped for any other iſſue from it, than that we found by the event. Give me leave to ſuppoſe, the continuance of the war was the thing at heart among thoſe in power, both abroad and at home; and then I can eaſily ſhew the conſiſtency of their proceedings, otherwiſe they are wholly unaccountable and abſurd. Did thoſe, who inſiſted on ſuch wild demands, ever ſincerely intend a peace? Did they really think, that going on with the war was more eligible for the country, than the leaſt abatement of thoſe conditions? Was the ſmalleſt of them worth ſix millions a year, and an hundred thouſand mens lives? Was there no way to provide for the ſafety of Britain, or the ſecurity of its trade, but by the French King's turning his arms to beat his own grandſon out of Spain? If theſe able ſtateſmen were ſo truly concerned for our trade, which they made the pretence of the war's beginning, as well as continuance; why did they ſo neglect it in thoſe very preliminaries, where the enemy made ſo many conceſſions, and where all that related to the advantage of Holland, or the other confederates, was expreſly ſettled? But whatever concerned us was to be left to a general treaty; no *Tariff* agreed on with France or the Low-Countries, only

* *Horatio Walpole*, Secretary to that embaſſy.

the Scheld was to remain ſhut, which muſt have ruined our commerce with Antwerp. Our trade with Spain was referred the ſame way; but this they will pretend to be of no conſequence, becauſe that kingdom was to be under the houſe of Auſtria, and we have already made a treaty with K. Charles. I have indeed heard of a treaty made by Mr Stanhope with that Prince, for ſettling our commerce with Spain: but whatever it were, there was another between us and Holland, which went hand in hand with it, I mean that of barrier, wherein a clauſe was inſerted, by which all advantages propoſed for Britain are to be in common with Holland.

ANOTHER point, which I doubt thoſe have not conſidered, who are againſt any peace without Spain, is that the face of affairs in Chriſtendom ſince the Emperor's death hath been very much changed. By this accident the views and intereſts of ſeveral Princes and States in the alliance have taken a new turn, and I believe it will be found that ours ought to do ſo too. We have ſufficiently blundered once already by changing our meaſures with regard to a peace, while our affairs continued in the ſame poſture; and it will be too much in conſcience to blunder again by not changing the firſt, when the others are ſo much altered.

To have a Prince of the Auſtrian family on the throne of Spain is undoubtedly more deſireable than one of the houſe of Bourbon; but to have the empire and Spaniſh monarchy united in the ſame perſon is a dreadful conſideration, and directly oppoſite to that wiſe principle on which the eighth article of the alliance is founded.

To this perhaps it will be objected, that the indolent character of the Auſtrian Princes, the wretched œconomy of that government, the want of a naval force, the remote diſtance of their ſeveral territories from each other, would never ſuffer an Emperor, altho' at the ſame time King of Spain, to become formidable: on the contrary, that his dependance muſt continually be on Great-Britain, and the advantages of trade by a peace, founded upon that condition, would ſoon make us amends for all the expences of the war.

IN anſwer to this, let us conſider the circumſtances we *muſt be in*, before ſuch a peace could be obtained, if it

were

were at all practicable. We muſt become not only poor for the preſent, but reduced by further mortgages to a ſtate of beggary for endleſs years to come. Compare ſuch a weak condition as this with ſo great an acceſſion of ſtrength to Auſtria; and then determine how much an Emperor in ſuch a ſtate of affairs, would either fear or need Britain.

CONSIDER that the comparifon is not formed between a Prince of the houſe of Auſtria, Emperor and King of Spain, and with a Prince of the Bourbon family, King of France and Spain; but between a Prince of the latter only King of Spain, and one of the former uniting both crowns in his own perſon.

WHAT returns of gratitude can we expect when we are no longer wanted? Hath all that we have hitherto done for the imperial family been taken as a favour, or only received as the due of the *auguſtiſſima caſa?*

WILL the houſe of Auſtria yield the leaſt acre of land, the leaſt article of ſtrained, and even uſurped prerogative to reſettle the minds of thoſe princes in the alliance, who are alarmed at the conſequences of this turn of affairs occaſioned by the Emperor's death? We are aſſured it never will. Do we then imagine, that thoſe princes who dread the overgrown power of the Auſtrian as much as that of the Bourbon family, will continue in our alliance upon a ſyſtem contrary to that which they engaged with us upon? For inſtance: what can the Duke of Savoy expect in ſuch a caſe? Will he have any choice left him but that of being a ſlave and a frontier to France; or a *vaſſal* in the utmoſt extent of the word, to the imperial court? Will he not therefore of the two evils chuſe the leaſt; by ſubmitting to a maſter who hath no immediate claim upon him, and to whoſe family he is nearly allied; rather than to another who hath already revived ſeveral claims upon him, and threatens to revive more?

NOR are the Dutch more inclined than the reſt of Europe, that the empire and Spain ſhould be united in K. Charles, whatever they may now pretend. 'On the contrary, it is known to ſeveral perſons, that upon the death 'of the late Emperor Joſeph, the States reſolved that 'thoſe two powers ſhould not be joined in the ſame perſon;' and this they determined as a fundamental maxim

by which they intended to proceed. So that Spain was firſt given up by *them*; and ſince they maintain no troops in that kingdom, it ſhould ſeem that they underſtand the Duke of Anjou to be lawful monarch.

Thirdly, THOSE who are againſt any peace without Spain, if they be ſuch as no way find their private account by the war, may perhaps change their ſentiments if they will reflect a little upon our preſent condition.

I had two reaſons for not ſooner publiſhing this diſcourſe; the firſt was, becauſe I would give way to others, who might argue very well upon the ſame ſubject from general topics and reaſon, altho' they might be ignorant of ſeveral facts which I had the opportunity to know. The ſecond was, becauſe I found it would be neceſſary in the courſe of this argument, to ſay ſomething of the ſtate to which the war hath reduced us; at the ſame time I knew, that ſuch a diſcovery ought to be made as late as poſſible, and at another juncture would not only be very indiſcreet, but might perhaps be dangerous.

IT is the folly of too many to miſtake the echo of a London coffee-houſe for the voice of a kingdom. The city coffee-houſes have been for ſome years filled with people whoſe fortunes depend upon the Bank, Eaſt-India, or ſome other ſtock. Every new fund to theſe is like a new mortgage to an uſurer, whoſe compaſſion for a young heir is exactly the ſame with that of a ſtock-jobber to the landed gentry. At the court end of the town the like places of reſort are frequented either by men out of place, and conſequently enemies to the preſent miniſtry, or by officers of the army: no wonder then if the general cry in all ſuch meetings be againſt any peace either *with* Spain or *without*; which, in other words, is no more than this; that diſcontented men deſire another change of the miniſtry; that ſoldiers would be glad to keep their commiſſions; and that the creditors have money ſtill, and would have the debtors borrow on at the old extorting rate while they have any ſecurity to give.

Now, to give the moſt ignorant reader ſome idea of our preſent circumſtances, without troubling him or myſelf with computations in form; every body knows that our land and malt tax amount annually to about two millions and an half. All other branches of the revenue are mort-

mortgaged to pay intereſt for what we have already borrowed. The yearly charge of the war is uſually about ſix millions; to make up which ſum we are forced to take up on the credit of new funds about three millions and an half. This laſt year the computed charge of the war came to above a million more than all the funds the parliament could contrive were ſufficient to pay intereſt for; and ſo we have been forced to divide a deficiency of twelve hundred thouſand pounds among the ſeveral branches of our expence. This is a demonſtration that if the war be to laſt another campaign, it will be impoſſible to find funds for ſupplying it without mortgaging the malt tax, or taking ſome other method equally deſperate.

IF the peace be made this winter, we are then to conſider what circumſtances we ſhall be in towards paying a debt of about fifty millions, which is a ſixth part of the purchaſe of the whole iſland if it were to be ſold.

TOWARDS clearing ourſelves of this monſtrous incumbrance ſome of theſe annuities will expire, or pay off the principal in thirty, forty, or an hundred years; the bulk of the debt muſt be leſſened gradually by the beſt management we can, out of what will remain of the land and malt-taxes, after paying guards and garriſons, and maintaining and ſupplying our fleet in the time of peace. I have not ſkill enough to compute what will be left after theſe neceſſary charges towards annually clearing ſo vaſt a debt; but believe it muſt be very little: however, it is plain that both theſe taxes muſt be continued, as well for ſupporting the government as becauſe we have no other means for paying off the principal. And ſo likewiſe muſt all the other funds remain for paying the intereſt. How long a time this muſt require, how ſteddy an adminiſtration, and how undiſturbed a ſtate of affairs both at home and abroad, let others determine.

HOWEVER, ſome people think all this very reaſonable; and that ſince the ſtruggle hath been for peace and ſafety, poſterity, which is to partake the benefit, ought to ſhare in the expence: as if, at the breaking out of this war, there had been ſuch a conjuncture of affairs as never happened before, nor would ever happen again. It is wonderful that our anceſtors, in all their wars, ſhould never fall under ſuch a neceſſity; that we meet no ex-

amples of it in Greece and Rome; that no other nation in Europe ever knew any thing like it, except Spain about an hundred and twenty years ago, when they drew it upon themſelves by their own folly, and have ſuffered for it ever ſince; no doubt we ſhall teach poſterity wiſdom, but they will be apt to think the purchaſe too dear, and I wiſh they may ſtand to the bargain we have made in their names.

IT is eaſy to entail debts on ſucceeding ages, and to hope they will be able and willing to pay them; but how to enſure peace for any term of years, is difficult enough to apprehend. Will human nature ever ceaſe to have the ſame paſſions, princes to entertain deſigns of intereſt or ambition, and occaſions of quarrel to ariſe? May not we ourſelves, by the variety of events and incidents which happen in the world, be under a neceſſity of recovering towns out of the very hands of thoſe for whom we are now ruining our country to take them? Neither can it be ſaid, that thoſe *ſtates*, with whom we may probably differ, will be in as bad a condition as ourſelves; for, by the circumſtances of our ſituation, and the impoſitions of our allies, we are more exhauſted than either they or the enemy; and by the nature of our government, the corruption of our manners, and the oppoſition of factions, we ſhall be more ſlow in recovering.

IT will, no doubt, be a mighty comfort to our grandchildren, when they ſee a few rags hung up in Weſtminſter-hall, which coſt an hundred millions, whereof they are paying the arrears, to boaſt as beggars do, that their grandfathers were rich and great.

I have often reflected on that miſtaken notion of credit, ſo boaſted of by the advocates of the late miniſtry: was not all that credit built upon funds raiſed by the landed men, whom they now ſo much hate and deſpiſe? is not the greateſt part of thoſe funds raiſed from the growth and product of land? muſt not the whole debt be entirely paid, and our fleets and garriſons be maintained, by the land and malt tax after a peace? If they call it credit to run ten millions in debt without parliamentary ſecurity, by which the public is defrauded of almoſt half; I muſt think ſuch credit to be dangerous, illegal, and perhaps treaſonable. Neither hath any thing gone further

ther to ruin the nation than their boasted credit. For my own part, when I saw this false credit sink, upon the change of the ministry, I was singular enough to conceive it a good omen. It seemed as if the young extravagant heir had got a new steward, and was resolved to look into his estate before things grew desperate, which made the usurers forbear feeding him with money, as they used to do.

SINCE the monied men are so fond of war, I should be glad they would furnish out one campaign at their own charge: it is not above six or seven millions; and I dare engage to make it out, that when they have done this, instead of contributing equal to the landed men, they will have their full principal and interest at six *per cent.* remaining of all the money they ever lent to the government.

WITHOUT this resource, or some other equally miraculous, it is impossible for us to continue the war upon the same foot. I have already observed, that the last funds of interest fell short above a million, altho' the persons most conversant in ways and means employed their utmost invention; so that of necessity we must be still more defective next campaign. But perhaps our allies will make-up this deficiency on our side by greater efforts on their own. Quite the contrary; both the Emperor and Holland failed this year in several articles; and signified to us some time ago, that they cannot keep up to the same proportions in the next. We have gained a noble barrier for the latter, and they have nothing more to demand or desire. The Emperor, however sanguine he may now affect to appear, will, I suppose, be satisfied with Naples, Sicily, Milan, and his other acquisitions, rather than engage in a long hopeless war, for the recovery of Spain, to which his allies the Dutch will neither give their assistance, nor consent. So that since we have done their business, since they have no further service for our arms, and we have no more money to give them; and lastly since we neither desire any recompence, nor expect any thanks, we ought in pity to be dismissed, and have leave to shift for ourselves. They are ripe for a peace, to enjoy and cultivate what we have conquered for them; and so are we to recover, if possible, the effects of their hardship upon us. The first overtures

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from France are made to England upon ſafe and honourable terms; we who bore the burthen of the war, ought in reaſon to have the greateſt ſhare in making the peace. If we do not hearken to a peace, others certainly will, and get the advantage of us there, as they have done in the war. We know the Dutch have perpetually threatened us, that they would enter into ſeparate meaſures of a peace; and by the ſtrength of that argument, as well as by *other powerful motives*, prevailed on thoſe who were then at the helm, to comply with them on any terms, rather than put an end to a war, which every year brought them ſuch great acceſſions to their wealth and power. Whoever falls off, a peace will follow; and then we muſt be content with ſuch conditions as our allies, out of their great concern for our ſafety and intereſt, will pleaſe to chuſe. They have no farther occaſion for fighting, they have gained their point, and they now tell us it is *our war*; ſo that in common juſtice it ought to be *our peace*.

ALL we can propoſe by the deſperate ſteps of pawning our land or malt-tax, or erecting a general exciſe, is only to raiſe a fund of intereſt for running us annually four millions further in debt, without any proſpect of ending the war ſo well as we can do at preſent. And when we have ſunk the only unengaged revenues we had left, our incumbrances muſt of neceſſity remain perpetual.

WE have hitherto lived upon expedients which in time will certainly deſtroy any conſtitution, whether civil or natural; and there was no country in Chriſtendom had leſs occaſion for them than ours. We have dieted a healthy body into a conſumption, by plying it with phyſic inſtead of food. Art will help us no longer, and if we cannot recover by letting the remains of nature work, we muſt inevitably die.

WHAT arts have been uſed to poſſeſs the people with a ſtrong deluſion, that Britain muſt infallibly be ruined, without the recovery of Spain to the houſe of Auſtria? Making the ſafety of a great and powerful kingdom as ours was then to depend upon an event, which even after a war of a miraculous ſucceſs proves impracticable. As if princes and great miniſters could find no way of ſettling the public tranquillity without changing the poſſeſſions of king-

kingdoms, and forcing ſovereigns upon a people againſt their inclinations. Is there no ſecurity for the iſland of Britain, unleſs a King of Spain be dethroned by the hands of his grandfather! Has the enemy no cautionary towns and ſea ports to give us for ſecuring trade? Can he not deliver us poſſeſſion of ſuch places as would put him in a worſe condition, whenever he ſhould perfidiouſly renew the war? The preſent King of France has but few years to live by the courſe of nature, and doubtleſs would deſire to end his days in peace. Grandfathers in private families are not obſerved to have great influence on their grandſons; and, I believe, they have much leſs among princes; however, when the authority of a parent is gone, is it likely that Philip will be directed by a brother againſt his own intereſt, and that of his ſubjects? Have not thoſe two realms their ſeparate maxims of policy, which muſt operate in times of peace? Theſe at leaſt are probabilities, and cheaper by ſix millions a year than recovering Spain, or continuing the war, both which ſeem abſolutely impoſſible.

BUT the common queſtion is, If we muſt now ſurrender Spain, what have we been fighting for all this while? The anſwer is ready: we have been fighting for the ruin of the public intereſt, and the advancement of a private. We have been fighting to raiſe the wealth and grandeur of a particular family; to enrich uſurers and ſtock-jobbers, and to cultivate the pernicious deſigns of a faction by deſtroying the landed intereſt. The nation begins now to think theſe bleſſings are not worth fighting for any longer, and therefore deſires a peace.

BUT the advocates on the other ſide cry out, that we might have had a better peace, than is now in agitation, above two years ago. Suppoſing this to be true, I do aſſert, that by parity of reaſon, we muſt expect one juſt ſo much the worſe about two years hence. If thoſe in power could then have given us a better peace, more is their infamy and guilt, that they did it not. Why did they inſiſt upon conditions, which they were certain would never be granted? We allow, it was in their power to have put a good end to the war, and left the nation in ſome hope of recovering itſelf. And this is what we charge them with as anſwerable to God, their country, and

and poſterity; that the bleeding condition of their fel low-ſubjects was a feather in the balance with their private ends.

WHEN we offer to lament the heavy debts and poverty of the nation, it is pleaſant to hear ſome men anſwer all that can be ſaid, by crying up the power of England, the courage of England, the inexhauſtible riches of England. I have heard a man † very ſanguine upon this ſubject, with a good employment for life, and a hundred thouſand pounds in the funds bidding us take courage, and warranting, that all would go well. This is the ſtyle of men at eaſe, who lay heavy burthens upon others, which they would not touch with one of their fingers. I have known ſome people ſuch ill computers, as to imagine the many millions in ſtocks and annuities are ſo much real wealth in the nation; whereas every farthing of it is entirely loſt to us, ſcattered in Holland, Germany, and Spain; and the landed men, who now pay the intereſt, muſt at laſt pay the principal.

Fourthly, THOSE who are againſt any peace without Spain, have, I doubt, been ill informed as to the low condition of France, and the mighty conſequences of our ſucceſſes. As to the firſt it muſt be confeſſed, that after the battle of Ramillies, the French were ſo diſcouraged with their frequent loſſes, and ſo impatient for a peace, that their King was reſolved to comply upon any reaſonable terms. But when his ſubjects were informed of our exorbitant demands, they grew jealous of his honour, and were unanimous to aſſiſt him in continuing the war at any hazard, rather than ſubmit. This fully reſtored his authority; and the ſupplies he hath received from the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, which in all are computed ſince the war to amount to four hundred millions of livres, and all in *ſpecie*, have enabled him to pay his troops. Beſides, the money is ſpent in his own country; and he hath ſince waged war in the moſt thriſty manner by acting on the defenſive; compounding with us every compaign for a town, which coſts us fifty times more than it's worth, either as to the value, or the conſequences. Then he is at no charge for a fleet, further than providing privateers, wherewith his

† The late Lord Halifax.

his ſubjects carry on a piratical war at their own expence, and he ſhares in the profit; which hath been very conſiderable to France, and of infinite diſadvantage to us, not only by the perpetual loſſes we have ſuffered, to an immenſe value, but by the general diſcouragement of trade, on which we ſo much depend. All this conſidered, with the circumſtances of that government, where the Prince is maſter of the lives and fortunes of ſo mighty a kingdom, ſhews that monarch not to be ſo ſunk in his affairs as we have imagined, and have long flattered ourſelves with the hopes of.

THOSE who are againſt any peace without Spain, ſeem likewiſe to have been miſtaken in judging our victories, and other ſucceſſes, to have been of greater conſequence than they really were.

WHEN our armies take a town in Flanders, the Dutch are immediately put into poſſeſſion, and we at home make bonfires. I have ſometimes pitied the deluded people to ſee them ſquandering away their fewel to ſo little purpoſe. For example: what is it to us that Bouchain is taken, about which the warlike politicians of the coffee-houſe make ſuch a clutter? What tho' the garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war, and in ſight of the enemy? We are not now in a condition to be fed with points of honour. What advantage have we, but that of ſpending three or four millions more to get another town for the States, which may open them a new country for contributions, and increaſe the perquiſites of the General?

IN that war of ten years under the late King, when our commanders and ſoldiers were raw and unexperienced, in compariſon of what they are at preſent, we loſt battles and towns, as well as we gained them of late, ſince thoſe gentlemen have better learned their trade; yet we bore up then, as the French do now: nor was there any thing deciſive in their ſucceſſes; they grew weary as well as we, and at laſt conſented to a peace, under which we might have been happy enough if it had not been followed by that wiſe treaty of partition, which revived the flame that hath laſted ever ſince. I ſee nothing elſe in the modern way of making war, but that the ſide, which can hold out longeſt, will end it with moſt advantage. In ſuch a cloſe country as Flanders, where

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it is carried on by ſieges, the army that acts offenſively it at a much greater expence of men and money: and there is hardly a town taken, in the common forms, where the beſiegers have not the worſe of the bargain. I never yet knew a ſoldier, who would not affirm, that any town might be taken, if you were content to be at the charge. If you will count upon ſacrificing ſo much blood and treaſure, the reſt is all a regular, eſtabliſhed method, which cannot fail. When the King of France, in the times of his grandeur, ſat down before a town, his generals and ingineers would often fix the day when it ſhould ſurrender: the enemy, ſenſible of all this, hath for ſome years paſt avoided a battle, where he hath ſo ill ſucceeded, and taken a ſurer way to conſume us by letting our courage evaporate againſt ſtones and rubbiſh, and ſacrificing a ſingle town to a campaign, which he can ſo much better afford to loſe, than we to take.

Laſtly, THOSE who are ſo violently againſt any peace without Spain being reſtored to the houſe of Auſtria, have not I believe caſt their eye upon a cloud gathering in the north, which we have helped to raiſe, and may quickly break in a ſtorm upon our heads.

THE northern war hath been on foot almoſt ever ſince our breach with France. The ſucceſs of it is various; but one effect to be apprehended was always the ſame, that ſooner or later it would involve us in its conſequences; and that whenever this happened, let our ſucceſs be never ſo great againſt France, from that moment France would have the advantage.

BY our guarantee of the treaty of Travendall we were obliged to hinder the King of Denmark from engaging in a war with Sweden. It was at that time underſtood by all parties, and ſo declared, even by the Britiſh miniſters, that this engagement ſpecially regarded Denmark's not aſſiſting King Auguſtus. But however, if this had not been ſo, yet our obligation to Sweden ſtood in force by virtue of former treaties with that crown, which were all revived and confirmed by a ſubſequent one concluded at the Hague by Sir Joſeph Williamſon, and Monſieur Lilienroot about the latter end of the King's reign.

HOWEVER, the war in the north proceeded; and our *not aſſiſting* Sweden was at leaſt as well excuſed by the

war

war which we were entangled in, as his not contributing his contingent to the empire, whereof he is a member, was excuſed by the preſſures he lay under, having a confederacy to deal with.

IN this war the King of Sweden was victorious; and what dangers were we not then expoſed to? what fears were we not in? He marched into Saxony, and if he had really been in the French intereſt, might at once have put us under the greateſt difficulties. But the torrent turned another way, and he contented himſelf with impoſing on his enemy the treaty of Alt Raſtadt; by which K. Auguſtus makes an abſolute ceſſion of the crown of Poland, renounces any title to it, acknowledges Staniſlaus, and then both he and the King of Sweden join in deſiring the guarantee of England and Holland. The Queen did not indeed give this guarantee in form; but as a ſtep towards it, the title of *King* was given to Staniſlaus by a a letter from her Majeſty; and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances were given to the Swediſh miniſter, in her Majeſty's name, and in a committee of council, that the guarantee ſhould ſpeedily be granted; and that in the mean while it was the ſame thing as if the forms were paſſed.

IN 1708 K. Auguſtus made the campaign in Flanders; what meaſures he might at that time take, or of what nature the arguments might be that he made uſe of, is not known: but immediately after he breaks thro' all he had done, marches into Poland, and re-aſſumes the crown.

AFTER this we apprehended, that the peace of the empire might be endangered; and therefore entered into an act of guarantee for the neutrality of it. The King of Sweden refuſed upon ſeveral accounts to ſubmit to the terms of this treaty; particularly becauſe we went out of the empire to cover Poland and Jutland, but did not go out of it to cover the territories of Sweden.

LET us therefore conſider what is our caſe at preſent. If the King of Sweden return and get the better, he will think himſelf under no obligation of having any regard to the intereſts of the allies; but will naturally purſue,

according to his own expreſſion, *his enemy where ever he finds him.* In this caſe the *corps* of the neutrality is obliged to oppoſe him; and ſo we are engaged in a ſecond war, before the firſt be ended.

IF the northern confederates ſucceed againſt Sweden, how ſhall we be able to preſerve the balance of power in the north, ſo eſſential to our trade as well as in many other reſpects? What will become of that great ſupport of the *Proteſtant intereſt* in Germany, which is the footing that the Swedes now have in the empire? Or who ſhall anſwer, that theſe princes, after they have ſettled the north to their minds, may not take a fancy to look ſouthward, and make our peace with France according to their own ſchemes?

AND laſtly, if the King of Pruſſia, the elector of Hanover, and other princes, whoſe dominions lie contiguous, be forced to draw from thoſe armies which act againſt France, we muſt live in hourly expectation of having thoſe troops recalled, which they now leave with us; and this recal may happen in the midſt of a ſiege, or on the eve of a battle. Is it therefore our intereſt to toil on in a ruinous war for an impracticable end, till one of theſe caſes ſhall happen, or to get under ſhelter before the ſtorm?

THERE is no doubt but the preſent miniſtry (provided they could get over the obligations of honour and conſcience) might find their advantage in adviſing the continuance of the war, as well as the laſt did, altho' not in the ſame degree after the kingdom hath been ſo much exhauſted. They might prolongue it, till the parliament deſire a peace; and in the mean time leave them in full poſſeſſion of power. Therefore it is plain, that their proceedings at preſent are meant to ſerve their country directly againſt their private intereſt; whatever clamour may be raiſed by thoſe, who for the vileſt ends would remove heaven and earth to oppoſe their meaſures. But they think it infinitely better to accept ſuch terms as will ſecure our trade, find a ſufficient barrier for the States, give reaſonable ſatisfaction to the Emperor, and reſtore the tranquillity of Europe, altho' without adding Spain to the empire; rather than go on in a languiſhing

way,

way, upon the vain expectation of ſome improbable turn for the recovery of that monarchy out of the Bourbon family; and at laſt be forced to a worſe peace, by ſome of the allies falling off upon our utter inability to continue the war.

Some REMARKS on the BARRIER-TREATY between her *Majeſty* and the STATES-GENERAL.

To which are added, The ſaid BARRIER-TREATY, with the two ſeparate articles; Part of the counter-project; The ſentiments of Prince Eugene and Count Sinzendorf upon the ſaid treaty; and, A repreſentation of the Engliſh merchants at Bruges.

[Written in the year 1712.]

PREFACE.

WHEN I publiſhed the diſcourſe, called, *The Conduct of the Allies*, I had thoughts either of inſerting or annexing the Barrier-Treaty at length, with ſuch obſervations as I conceived might be uſeful for public information: but that diſcourſe taking up more room than I deſigned after my utmoſt endeavours to abbreviate it, I contented myſelf only with making ſome few reflections upon that *famous treaty*, ſufficient, as I thought, to anſwer the deſign of my book. I have ſince heard, that my readers in general ſeemed to wiſh I had been more particular, and have diſcovered an impatience to have that treaty made public, eſpecially ſince it hath been laid before the *houſe of Commons*.

THAT I may give ſome light to the reader, who is not well verſed in thoſe affairs, he may pleaſe to know, that a project for a treaty of Barrier with the States was tranſmitted hither from Holland; but being diſapproved of by our court in ſeveral parts, a new project or ſcheme of a treaty was drawn up here, with many additions and alterations. This laſt was called the *counter-project*; and *was the* meaſure, whereby the Duke of Marlborough and

and my Lord Townſhend were commanded and inſtructed to proceed in negotiating a *treaty of barrier* with the States.

I have added a tranſlation of this *counter-project* in thoſe articles where it differs from the *barrier-treaty*, that the reader, by comparing them together, may judge how punctually thoſe negotiators obſerved their inſtructions. I have likewiſe ſubjoined the ſentiments of Prince Eugene of Savoy, and the Count de Sinzendorf, relating to this treaty, written, I ſuppoſe, while it was negotiating. And laſtly, I have added a copy of the repreſentation of the Britiſh merchants at Bruges, ſignifying what inconveniencies they already felt and further apprehended from this *barrier-treaty*.

Some REMARKS on the BARRIER-TREATY, &c.*

IMAGINE a reasonable person in China reading the following treaty, and one who was ignorant of our affairs, or our geography: he would conceive their High Mightinesses the States-General to be some vast powerful commonwealth, like that of Rome; and HER MAJESTY to be a petty Prince, like one of those to whom

* Dr Swift commenced the champion of Q. Anne's Tory ministry as early as the month of November 1710, under the title of *The Examiner* [in this volume]. Beside which he wrote several other papers in defence of the Queen, the constitution, and the ministry; particularly, *Some advice to the members of the October club* [at the end of this volume]; *The conduct of the allies* [above, p. 91.]; *Remarks on the barrier treaty*; *The public spirit of the Whigs* [above, p. 51.] (a treatise wherein we may observe how well the Doctor was acquainted with the several interests and designs of all the princes in Europe]; *The preface to the Bishop of Sarum's introduction* [vol. 7. p. 215]; and, *Some free thoughts on the present state of affairs* [in vol 2]. These are a course of writings not to be considered in the light of *occasional pamphlets*, or little paltry *journals*, thrown into the world by some *hackney-jade*, in the defence of *corruption*, and to serve the iniquitous designs of a party. No; these writings are to be considered, and read over and over again, as lectures of true, unprejudiced, constitutional politics, calculated to expose the enemies of the public, and to maintain at once the honour of the crown, and the liberties of the people of England. I cannot but think, whoever is not by unacquainted with these political tracts, might be tempted to revise them carefully, were it only for the sake of extracting some points of history, which, to many thousands of the present age, are somewhat more than paradoxes.——Whoever pretends to write the history of Q. Anne's reign, without revising diligently the works of this great author, will produce nothing better than some lame, partial, insignificant Grubstreet performance, like

whom that republic would sometimes send a diadem for a present, when they behaved themselves well, otherwise could depose at pleasure, and place whom they thought fit in his stead. Such a man would think, that the States had taken our Prince and us into their *protection*: and in return honoured us so far, as to make use of our troops as some small assistance in their conquests and the enlargement of their empire, or to prevent the incursions of Barbarians upon some of their out lying provinces. But how must it sound in an European ear, that Great Britain, after maintaining a war for so many years, with so much glory and success, and such prodigious expence, after saving the Empire, Holland, and Portugal, and almost recovering Spain, should, towards the close of a war, enter into a treaty with seven Dutch provinces to secure to them a dominion larger than their own, which she had conquered for them; to undertake for a great deal more without stipulating the least advantage for herself; and accept as an equivalent, the mean condition of those States assisting to preserve her QUEEN on the throne, whom by God's assistance she is able to defend against all her Majesty's *enemies* and *allies* put together?

SUCH a wild bargain could never have been made for us, if the States had not found it their interest to use very

like the rest of those vile accounts which have already, in defiance of truth, been imposed upon the world. I am sure the present generation of men, that is, the present generation of *landed men*, who are in fact the only proprietors of the whole kingdom, feel it to their cost, that Swift's reasonings are just, and that all his accounts are true. *Swift* ——— Mr Swift thinks the Dean's political tracts should have been ranged in his works in the order in which he has mentioned them; and that his several poems relative to those times, and which in truth greatly illustrate his political tracts, ought to be read in the following order, viz. *The virtues of Sid Hamet the magician's rod* [vol. 6. p. 8[illegible]]; *The fable of Midas* [ib. p. 250]; *Atlas, or The minister of state* [ib. p. 8[illegible]]; *Horace, epist 7. book 1. imitated, and addressed to the Earl of Oxford* [ib. p. 54]; *Horace sat 6. book 2. part of it imitated* [ib. p. 6[illegible]]; *The [illegible] on himself* [ib. p. [illegible]]; *The [illegible]* [ib. p. 2[illegible]]; *To the Earl of Oxford in the Tower* [ib. p. 263].

ry powerful motives with the chief advisers, (I say nothing of the person immediately employed;) and if a party here at home had not been resolved, for ends and purposes very well known, to continue the war as long as they had any ooccasion for it.

THE counter-project of this treaty made here at London was bad enough in all conscience: I have said something of it in the preface; her Majesty's ministers were instructed to proceed by it in their negotiation. There was one point in that project, which would have been of consequence to Britain, and one or two more where the advantages of the States were not so very exorbitant, and where some care was taken of the house of Austria. Is it possible that our good allies and friends could not be brought to any terms with us, unless by striking out every particular that might do us any good, and adding still more to those whereby so much was already granted? For instance, the article about demolishing of Dunkirk surely might have remained; which was of some benefit to the States, as well as of mighty advantage to us; and which the French King hath lately yielded in one of his preliminaries, altho' clogged with the demand of an equivalent, which will owe its difficulty only to this treaty.

BUT let me now consider the treaty itself: among the one and twenty articles, of which it consists, only two have any relation to us, importing that the Dutch are to be guarantees of our succession, and are not to enter into any treaty until the Queen is acknowledged by France. We know very well, that it is in consequence the interest of the States, as much as ours, that Britain should be governed by a Protestant Prince. Besides, what is there more in this guarantee, than in all common leagues, offensive and defensive, between two powers, where each is obliged to defend the other against any invader with all their strength? Such was the grand alliance between the Emperor, Britain, and Holland; which was, or ought to have been, as good a guarantee of our succession to all intents and purposes, as this in the barrier treaty, and the mutual engagements in such alliances have been always reckoned sufficient without any separate benefit to either party.

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IT is, no doubt, for the intereſt of Britain, that the States ſhould have a ſufficient barrier againſt France; but their High Mightineſſes. for ſome few years paſt, have put a different meaning upon the word barrier, from what it formerly uſed to bear when applied to them. When the late King was Prince of Orange, and commanded their armies againſt France, it was never once imagined, that any of the towns taken ſhould belong to the Dutch; they were all immediately delivered up to their lawful monarch; and Flanders was only a barrier to Holland, as it was in the hands of Spain, rather than France. So in the grand alliance of 1701, the ſeveral powers promiſing to endeavour to recover Flanders for a barrier, was underſtood to be the recovering thoſe provinces to the King of Spain; but in this treaty the ſtyle is wholly changed: here are about twenty towns and forts of great importance, with their chatellanies and dependencies (which dependencies are likewiſe to be enlarged as much as poſſible) and the whole revenues of them to be under the perpetual military government of the Dutch, by which that republic will be entirely maſters of the richeſt part of all Flanders; and upon any appearance of war they may put their garriſons into any other place of the Low-Countries; and farther, the King of Spain is to give them a revenue of four hundred thouſand crowns a year to enable them to maintain thoſe garriſons.

WHY ſhould we wonder that the Dutch are inclined to perpetuate the war, when by an article in this treaty the King of Spain is not to poſſeſs one ſingle town in the Low-Countries, until a peace be made. The Duke of Anjou, at the beginning of this war, maintained ſix and thirty thouſand men out of thoſe Spaniſh provinces he then poſſeſſed: to which if we add the many towns ſince taken, which were not in the late king of Spain's poſſeſſion at the time of his death, with all their territories and dependencies; it is viſible what forces the States may be able to keep, even without any charge to their peculiar dominions.

THE towns and chatellanies of this barrier always maintained their garriſons, when they were in the hands of France; and, as it is reported, returned a conſiderable ſum of money into the King's coffers; yet the

the King of Spain is obliged by this treaty (as we have already obſerved) to add over and above a revenue of four hundred thouſand crowns a year. We know likewiſe, that a great part of the revenue of the Spaniſh Netherlands is already pawned to the States; ſo that after a peace nothing will be left to the ſovereign, nor will the people be much eaſed of the taxes, they at preſent labour under.

THUS the States, by virtue of this barrier treaty, will in effect be abſolute ſovereigns of all Flanders, and of the whole revenues in the utmoſt extent.

AND here I cannot without ſome contempt take notice of a ſort of reaſoning offered by ſeveral people; that the many towns we have taken for the Dutch are of no advantage, becauſe the whole revenues of thoſe towns are ſpent in maintaining them. For, firſt, the fact is manifeſtly falſe, particularly as to Liſle and ſome others. Secondly, the States after a peace are to have four hundred thouſand crowns a year out of the remainder of Flanders, which is then to be left to Spain. And laſtly, ſuppoſe all theſe acquired dominions will not bring a penny into their treaſury, what can be of greater conſequence, than to be able to maintain a mighty army out of their new conqueſts, which before they always did by taxing their natural ſubjects?

How ſhall we be able to anſwer it to K. Charles III. that while we pretend to endeavour reſtoring him to the entire monarchy of Spain, we join at the ſame time with the Dutch to deprive him of his natural right to the Low-Countries?

BUT ſuppoſe by a Dutch barrier muſt now be underſtood only what is to be in poſſeſſion of the States; yet, even under this acceptation of the word nothing was originally meant except a *barrier* againſt France; whereas ſeveral towns demanded by the Dutch in this treaty can be of no uſe at all in ſuch a *barrier*. And this is the ſentiment even of Prince Eugene himſelf (the preſent oracle and idol of the party here) who ſays, "that 'Dendermond, Oſtend, and the caſtle of Gand, do in no 'ſort belong to the *barrier*; nor can be of other uſe, than 'to make the States-General maſters of the Low-Coun-'tries, and hinder their trade with England." And further: 'that

'that thoſe who are acquainted with the country know 'very well, that to fortify Lier and Halle can give no ſe-'curity to the States as a barrier, but only raiſe a jealou-'ſy in the people, that thoſe places are only fortified in 'order to block up Bruſſels, and the other great towns 'of Brabant'.

In thoſe towns of Flanders where the Dutch are to have garriſons, but the eccleſiaſtical and civil power to remain to the King of Spain after a peace, the States have power to ſend arms, ammunition, and victuals, without paying cuſtoms; under which pretence they will engroſs the whole trade of thoſe towns, excluſive of all other nations.

This Prince Eugene likewiſe foreſaw; and in his obſervations upon this treaty, here annexed, propoſed a remedy for it.

And if the Dutch ſhall pleaſe to think, that the whole Spaniſh Netherlands are not a ſufficient *barrier* for them, I know no remedy from the words of this treaty, but that we muſt ſtill go on and conquer for them as long as they pleaſe. For the Queen is obliged, whenever a peace is treated, to procure for them *whatever ſhall be thought neceſſary* beſides; and where their neceſſity will terminate is not very eaſy to foreſee.

Could any of her Majeſty's ſubjects conceive, that in thoſe very towns we have taken for the Dutch, and given into their poſſeſſion as a *barrier*, either the States ſhould demand, or our *miniſters* allow, that the ſubjects of Britain ſhould, in reſpect to their trade, be uſed worſe, than they were under the late King of Spain? yet this is the fact, as monſtrous as it appears: all goods going to or coming from Newport or Oſtend are to pay the ſame duties, as thoſe that paſs by the Scheld under the Dutch forts: and this in effect is to ſhut out all other nations from trading to Flanders. The Engliſh merchants at Bruges complain, 'that after they have paid the King of Spain's 'duty for goods imported at Oſtend, the ſame goods are 'made liable to further duties, when they are carried 'from thence into the towns of the Dutch new conqueſts; 'and deſire only the ſame privileges of trade they had 'before the death of the late King of Spain, Charles II.' And in conſequence of this treaty, the Dutch have already

ready taken off eight *per cent.* from all goods they ſend to the Spaniſh Flanders, but left it ſtill upon us.

BUT what is very ſurprizing, in the very ſame article, where *our good friends and allies* are wholly ſhutting us out from trading in thoſe towns we have conquered for them with ſo much blood and treaſure, the Queen is obliged to procure, that the States ſhall be uſed as favourably in their trade over all the King of Spain's dominions, as her own ſubjects, or *as the people moſt favoured.* This I humbly conceive to be perfect boy's play; 'Croſs 'I win, and pile you loſe*;' or, 'What's yours is mine, 'and what's mine is my own.' Now, if it ſhould happen, that in a treaty of peace ſome ports or towns ſhould be yielded us for the ſecurity of our trade, in any part of the Spaniſh dominions at how great a diſtance ſoever, I ſuppoſe the Dutch would go on with their boy's play, and challenge half by virtue of that article: or would they be content with the military government and the revenues, and reckon them among *what ſhall be thought neceſſary* for their barrier?

THIS prodigious article is introduced as ſubſequent to the treaty of Munſter made about the year 1648, at a time when England was in the utmoſt confuſion and very much to our diſadvantage. Thoſe parts in that treaty, ſo unjuſt in themſelves, and ſo prejudicial to our trade, ought in reaſon to have been remitted rather than confirmed upon us for the time to come. But this is Dutch partnerſhip; to ſhare in all our beneficial bargains, and exclude us wholly from theirs, even from thoſe which we have got for them.

IN one part of *The conduct of the allies*, &c. among other remarks upon this treaty, I make it a queſtion, whether it were right in point of policy or prudence to call in a foreign power to be a guarantee to our ſucceſſion; becauſe, by that means 'we put it out of the power 'of our legiſlature to alter the ſucceſſion, how much ſoever 'the neceſſity of the kingdom may require it†?' To comply

* The two ſides of our coin were once diſtinguiſhed by *croſs* and *pile*, as they are now by *heads* and *tails*. *Hawkeſ.*

† Page 114.

ply with the cautions of ſome people, I explained *my meaning in the following editions*. I was aſſured, that my Lord Chief Juſtice affirmed, that paſſage was treaſon. One of my anſwerers, I think, decides as favourably; and I am told, that paragraph was read very lately during a debate with a comment in very injurious terms, which perhaps might have been ſpared. That the legiſlature ſhould have power to change the ſucceſſion, whenever the neceſſities of the kingdom require, is ſo very uſeful towards preſerving our religion and liberty, that I know not how to recant. The worſt of this opinion is, that at firſt ſight it appears to be *whiggiſh*; but the diſtinction is thus: the *whigs* are for changing the ſucceſſion when they think fit, altho' the entire legiſlature do not conſent: I think it ought never to be done but upon great neceſſity, and that with the ſanction of the whole legiſlature. Do theſe gentlemen of revolution principles think it impoſſible, that we ſhould ever have occaſion again to change our ſucceſſion? And if ſuch an accident ſhould fall out, muſt we have no remedy until the ſeven provinces will give their conſent? Suppoſe that this virulent party among us were as able, as ſome are willing to raiſe a rebellion for re-inſtating them in power, and would apply themſelves to the Dutch as guarantees of our ſucceſſion to aſſiſt them with all their force, under pretence that the Queen and miniſtry, a great majority of both houſes, and the bulk of the people were for bringing over France, Popery, and the Pretender? Their High Mightineſſes would, as I take it, be ſole judges of the controverſy, and probably decide it ſo well, that in ſome time we might have the happineſs of becoming a province to Holland. I am humbly of opinion, that there are two qualities neceſſary to a reader before his judgment ſhould be allowed; theſe are, common honeſty, and common ſenſe; and that no man could have miſrepreſented that paragraph in my diſcourſe, unleſs he were utterly deſtitute of one, or both.

THE preſumptive ſucceſſor, and her immediate heirs, have ſo eſtabliſhed a reputation in the world for their piety, wiſdom, and humanity, that no neceſſity of this kind is like to appear in their days; but I muſt ſtill inſiſt, that it is a diminution to the independency of the impe-

rial crown of Great Britain, to call at every door for help to put our laws in execution. And we ought to conſider, that if in ages to come ſuch a Prince ſhould happen to be in ſucceſſion to our throne, who ſhould be entirely unable to govern; that very motive might incline our guarantees to ſupport him, the more effectually to bring the rivals of their trade into confuſion and diſorder.

BUT to return: the Queen is here put under the unreaſonable obligation of being guarantee of the whole barrier-treaty; of the Dutch having poſſeſſion of the ſaid barrier, and the revenues thereof before a peace; of the payment of four hundred thouſand crowns by the King of Spain; that the States ſhall poſſeſs their barrier, even before K. Charles is in poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh Netherlands; altho' by the fifth article of the grand alliance her Majeſty is under no obligation to do any thing of this nature, except in a general treaty.

ALL kings, princes, and ſtates are invited to enter into this treaty, and to be guarantees of its execution. This article, tho' very frequent in treaties, ſeems to look very odly in that of the barrier. Popiſh princes are here invited among others to become guarantees of our Proteſtant ſucceſſion; every petty Prince in Germany muſt be intreated to preſerve the Queen of Great Britain upon her throne. The King of Spain is invited particularly, and by name, to become guarantee of the execution of a treaty, by which his allies, who pretend to fight his battles and recover his dominions, ſtrip him in effect of all his ten provinces; a clear reaſon why they never ſent any forces to Spain, and why the obligation, not to enter into a treaty of peace with France until that entire monarchy was yielded as a preliminary, was ſtruck out of the counter-project by the Dutch. They fought only in Flanders, becauſe there they only fought for themſelves. K. Charles muſt needs accept this invitation very kindly, and ſtand by with great ſatisfaction, while the Belgick lion divides the prey, and aſſigns it all to himſelf. I remember there was a parcel of ſoldiers, who robbed a farmer of his poultry, and then made him wait at table, while they devoured his victuals without giving him a morſel; and upon his expoſtulating, had only for anſwer, Why, *ſirrah*, are we not come here to protect you? And thus much

much for this generous invitation to all kings and princes to lend their assistance and become guarantees out of pure good nature for securing Flanders to the Dutch.

In the treaty of Ryswick no care was taken to oblige the French King to acknowledge the right of succession in her present Majesty; for want of which point being then settled, France refused to acknowledge her for Queen of Great Britain after the late King's death. This unaccountable neglect (if it were a neglect) is here called an omission, and care is taken to supply it in the next general treaty of peace *. I mention this occasionally, because I have some stubborn doubts within me, whether it were a wilful omission or no. Neither do I herein reflect in the least upon the memory of his late Majesty, whom I entirely acquit of any imputation upon this matter. But when I recollect the behaviour, the language, and the principles of some certain persons in those days, and compare them with that omission; I am tempted to draw some conclusions, which a certain party would be more ready to call false and malicious, than to prove them so.

I must here take leave (because it will not otherwise fall in my way) to say a few words in return to a gentleman, I know not of what character or calling, who hath done me the honour to write three discourses against that treatise of *The conduct of the allies*, &c and promises, for my comfort, to conclude all in a fourth. I pity answerers with all my heart, for the many disadvantages they lie under. My book did a world of mischief (as he calls it) before his first part could possibly come out; and so went on thro' the kingdom, while his limped slowly after; and if it arrived at all, it was too late; for people's opinions were already fixed. His manner of answering me is thus: of those facts which he pretends to examine, some he resolutely denies, others he endeavours to extenuate, and the rest he distorts with such unnatural turns, that I would engage by the same method to disprove any history either antient or modern. Then the whole is interlarded with a thousand injurious epithets and appellations, which heavy writers are forced to make use of, as a supply for that want of spirit and genius they are not

* Article XX.

born to: yet after all he allows a very great point, for which I contend, confeſſing in plain words, that the burthen of the war hath chiefly lain upon us; and thinks it ſufficient for the Dutch, that next to England they have borne the greateſt ſhare. And is not this the great grievance of which the whole kingdom complains? I am inclined to think, that my intelligence was at leaſt as good as his; and ſome of it, I can aſſure him, came from perſons of his own party, altho' perhaps not altogether ſo inflamed. Hitherto therefore the matter is pretty equal, and the world may believe him or me as they pleaſe. But I think the great point of controverſy between us is, whether the effects and conſequences of things follow better from his premiſes or mine? And there I will not be ſatisfied, unleſs he will allow the whole advantage to be on my ſide. Here is a flouriſhing kingdom brought to the brink of ruin by a moſt ſucceſsful and glorious war of ten years, under an able, diligent, and loyal miniſtry, a moſt faithful, juſt, and generous commander, and in conjunction with the moſt hearty, reaſonable, and ſincere allies. This is the caſe, as that author repreſents it. I have heard a ſtory, I think it was of the Duke of ***, who playing at hazard at the Groom-porters in much company, held in a great many hands together, and drew a huge heap of gold; but in the heat of play never obſerved a ſharper who came once or twice under his arm, and ſwept a great deal of it into his hat; the company thought it had been one of his ſervants. When the Duke's hand was out, they were talking how much he had won. Yes, ſaid he, I held in very long; yet methinks I have won but very little. They told him his ſervant had got the reſt in his hat; and then he found he was cheated.

IT hath been my good fortune to ſee the moſt important facts that I have advanced juſtified by the public voice; which, let this author do what he can, will incline the world to believe, that I may be right in the reſt. And I ſolemnly declare, that I have not wilfully committed the leaſt miſtake. I ſtopt the ſecond edition, and made all poſſible enquiries among thoſe who I thought could beſt inform me, in order to correct any error I could hear of; I did the ſame to the third and fourth editions, and then left the printer to his liberty. This I

take

take for a more effectual answer to all cavils, than an hundred pages of controversy.

BUT what disgusts me from having any thing to do with this race of of answer-jobbers, is, that they have no sort of conscience in their dealings: to give one instance in this gentleman's third part, which I have been lately looking into. When I talk of the most petty princes, he says that I mean crowned heads, when I say the [illegible] of those petty princes are ready to [illegible], he says I call Kings and crowned heads [illegible] waymen. This is what the [illegible] call [illegible].

I cannot omit one particular [illegible], who is so positive in asserting [illegible] dicting mine; he affirms, that the [illegible] was discovered by the clerk of a certain [illegible] was then secretary of State. [illegible] credit of his party to put us [illegible], or of that clerk; however, [illegible] relating to the affair of [illegible] that secretary's office: which [illegible] phlegm, leaving the epithets [illegible] la nous, and the rest, to the [illegible].

BUT to leave this author; [illegible] quence of our triumphs, [illegible] value as to think, that [illegible] be a sufficient reward for the [illegible] have not enlarged our [illegible] our trade, which made us [illegible] either given up by treaties, [illegible] interrupt, and daily lessen [illegible] groaning under excessive [illegible] millions of money for payment of [illegible] debts we have contracted. [illegible] verse of the medal; we [illegible] their utmost [illegible] this treaty, even [illegible] considerable country [illegible] strike terror into us, [illegible] to invade us from that country [illegible] ed for them; and to [illegible] in all other parts, as they have [illegible] the Indies.

THE BARRIER TREATY BETWEEN HER MAJESTY AND THE STATES-GENERAL.

" HER Majeſty the Queen of Great Britain, and " the Lords the States-General of the united pro- " vinces, having conſidered how much it concerns the " quiet and ſecurity of their kingdoms and States, and " the public tranquillity, to maintain and to ſecure on " one ſide, the ſucceſſion to the crown of Great Britain " in ſuch manner as it is now eſtabliſhed by the laws of " the kingdom; and on the other ſide, that the States- " General of the united provinces ſhould have a ſtrong " and ſufficient barrier againſt France and others who " would ſurprize or attack them: and her Majeſty and " the States-General apprehending with juſt reaſon the " troubles and the miſchiefs which may happen in rela- " tion to this ſucceſſion, if at any time there ſhould be " any perſon, or any power, who ſhould call it in queſti- " on; and that the countries and States of the ſaid Lords " the States-General were not furniſhed with ſuch a bar- " rier. For theſe ſaid reaſons her ſaid Majeſty the Queen " of Great Britain, altho' in the vigour of her age, and " enjoying perfect health (in which may God preſerve " her many years) out of an effect of her uſual pru- " dence and piety, has thought fit to enter with the " Lords the States General of the united provinces in- " to a particular alliance and confederacy; the principal " end and only aim of which ſhall be the public quiet " and tranquillity; and to prevent, by meaſures taken " in time, all the events which might one day excite new " war. It is with this view, that her Britiſh Majeſty " has given her full power to agree upon ſome articles " of a treaty, in addition to the treaties and alliances, " that ſhe hath already with the Lords the States-Gene- " ral of the united provinces, to her ambaſſador extra- " ordinary and plenipotentiary, Charles Viſcount Town- " ſhend, Baron of Lyne Regis, Privy Counſellor to her " Britiſh Majeſty, Captain of her ſaid Majeſty's Yeomen " of the Guard, and her Lieutenant in the county of " Norfolk; and the Lords the States-General of the " united provinces, the Sieurs John de Welderen Lord

" of

"of Valburgh, great Bailiff of the lower Betewe, of "the body of the nobility of the province of Guelder; "Frederic Baron of Reede, Lord of Lier, St Anthony, "and T'er Lee, of the order of the nobility of the pro"vince of Holland and Weſt Friezeland; Anthony "Heinſius, Counſellor-Penſionary of the province of "Holland and Weſt-Friezeland Keeper of the Great"Seal, and Super-Intendant of the fiefs of the ſame "province; Cornelius Van Gheet, Lord of Spranbrook, "Bulkeſteyn, &c. Gedeon Hoeuft, Canon of the Chap"ter of the church of St Peter at Utrecht, and elected "Counſellor in the States of the province of Utrecht; "Haſſel Van Sminia, Secretary of the Chamber of the "accounts of the Province of Friezeland; Erneſt Itter"ſum, Lord of Oſterbof. of the body of the nobility of "the province of Overyſſel; and Wicher Wichers, Sena"tor of the city of Groningen; all deputies to the aſ"ſembly of the ſaid Lords the States General on the "one part, reſpectively of the provinces of Guelder, "Holland, Weſt-Friezeland, Zeland, Utrecht, Friezе"land, Overyſſel and Groningen, and Ommelands, "who by virtue of their full powers, have agreed upon "the following articles:"

ARTICLE I.

THE treaties of peace, friendſhip, alliance, and confederacy between her Britannic Majeſty and the States-General of the united provinces ſhall be approved and confirmed by the preſent treaty, and ſhall remain in their former force and vigour as if they were inſerted word for word.

ARTICLE II.

THE ſucceſſion to the crown of England having been ſettled by an act of parliament, paſſed the twelfth year of the reign of his late Majeſty K. William III. the title of which is, *An act for the further limitation of the crown, and better ſecuring the rights and liberties of the ſubject*; and lately, in the ſixth year of the reign of her preſent Majeſty, this ſucceſſion having been again eſtabliſhed and confirmed by another act made for the greater ſecurity of her Majeſty's perſon and government, and the ſucceſſion to the crown of Great-Britain, &c. in the line

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of the moſt ſerene houſe of Hanover, and in the perſon of the Princeſs Sophia, and of her heirs, ſucceſſors, and deſcendants, male and female, already born or to be born; and altho' no power hath any right to oppoſe the laws made upon this ſubject by the crown and parliament of Great Britain; if it ſhall happen nevertheleſs, that under any pretence, or by any cauſe whatever, any perſon or any power or ſtate may pretend to diſpute the eſtabliſhment which the parliament hath made of the aforeſaid ſucceſſion in the moſt ſerene houſe of Hanover, to oppoſe the ſaid ſucceſſion, to aſſiſt or favour thoſe who may oppoſe it, whether directly or indirectly, by open war, or by fomenting ſeditions and conſpiracies againſt her or him to whom the crown of Great Britain ſhall deſcend; according to the acts aforeſaid; the States-General engage and promiſe to aſſiſt and maintain, in the ſaid ſucceſſion, her or him to whom it ſhall belong, by virtue of the ſaid acts of parliament, to aſſiſt them in taking poſſeſſion, if they ſhould not be in actual poſſeſſion, and to oppoſe thoſe who would diſturb them in the taking ſuch poſſeſſion, or in the actual poſſeſſion of the aforeſaid ſucceſſion.

ARTICLE III.

HER ſaid Majeſty and the States-General in conſequence of the fifth article of the alliance concluded between the Emperor, the late King of Great Britain, and the States-General, the ſeventh of September 1701, will employ all their force to recover the reſt of the Spaniſh Low-Countries.

ARTICLE IV.

AND further, they will endeavour to conquer as many towns and forts as they can, in order to their being a barrier and ſecurity to the ſaid States.

ARTICLE V.

AND whereas, according to the ninth article of the ſaid alliance, it is to be agreed, amongſt other matters, how and in what manner the States ſhall be made ſafe by means of this barrier, the Queen of Great Britain will

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uſe her endeavours to procure that in the treaty of peace it may be agreed, that all the Spaniſh Low-Countries, and what elſe may be found neceſſary, whether conquered or unconquered places, ſhall ſerve as a barrier to the States.

ARTICLE VI.

THAT to this end their High Mightineſſes ſhall have the liberty to put and keep garriſon, to change, augment and diminiſh it as they ſhall judge proper, in the places following: namely, Newport, Furnes, with the fort of Knocke, Ypres, Menin, the town and citadel of Liſle, Tournay, and its citadel, Conde, Valenciennes; and the places which ſhall from henceforward be conquered from France, Maubeuge, Charleroy, Namur and its citadel, Lier, Halle to fortify, the ports of Perle. Philippe, Damme, the caſtle of Gand, and Dendermonde. The fort of St Donas being joined to the fortification of the Sluice, and being entirely incorporated with it, ſhall remain and be yielded in property to the States. The fort of Rodenhuyſen on this ſide Gand ſhall be demoliſhed.

ARTICLE VII.

THE ſaid States-General may, in caſe of an apparent attack, or war, put as many troops as they ſhall think neceſſary in all the towns, places, and forts in the Spaniſh Low-Countries, where the reaſon of war ſhall require it.

ARTICLE VIII.

THEY may likewiſe ſend into the towns, forts, and places, where they ſhall have their garriſons, without any hindrance, and without paying any duties, proviſions, ammunitions of war, arms, and artillery, materials for the fortifications, and all that ſhall be found convenient and neceſſary for the ſaid garriſons and fortifications.

ARTICLE IX.

THE ſaid States-General ſhall alſo have liberty to appoint in the towns, forts, and places of their barrier, mentioned

mentioned in the foregoing fixth article, where they may have garrifons, fuch governors and commanders, majors and other officers as they fhall find proper, who fhall not be fubject to any other orders, whatfoever they may be, or from whencefoever they may come, relating to the fecurity and military government of the faid places, but only to thofe of their High Mightineffes (exclufive of all others;) ftill preferving the rights and privileges, as well eccleſiaſtical as political, of K. Charles III.

ARTICLE X.

THAT befides the States fhall have liberty to fortify the faid towns, places, and forts which belong to them, and repair the fortifications of them in fuch manner as they fhall judge neceffary; and further to do whatever fhall be ufeful for their defence.

ARTICLE XI.

IT is agreed, that the States-General fhall have all the revenues of the towns, places, jurifdictions, and their dependencies, which they fhall have for their barrier from France, which were not in the poffeffion of the crown of Spain at the time of the death of the late K. Charles II. and befides, a million of livres fhall be fettled for the payment of one hundred thoufand crowns every three months out of the cleareft revenues of the Spaniſh Low-Countries, which the faid King was then in poffeffion of; both which are for maintaining the garrifons of the States, and for fupplying the fortifications, as alſo the magazines, and other neceffary expences in the towns and places above-mentioned. And that the faid revenues may be fufficient to fupport theſe expences, endeavours fhall be ufed for enlarging the dependencies and jurifdictions aforefaid as much as poffible; and particularly, for including with the jurifdiction of Ypres that of Caffel, and the foreft of Niepe; and with the jurifdiction of Liſle the jurifdiction of Douay, both having been fo joined before the preſent war.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE XII.

THAT no town, fort, place, or country of the Spaniſh Low-Countries ſhall be granted, transferred, or given, or deſcend to the crown of France, or any of the line of France, neither by virtue of any gift, ſale, exchange, marriage, agreement, inheritance, ſucceſſion by will, or thro' want of will, from no title whatſoever, nor in any other manner whatſoever, nor be put into the power, or under the authority of the Moſt Chriſtian King, or any one of the line of France.

ARTICLE XIII.

AND whereas the ſaid States-General, in conſequence of the ninth article of the ſaid alliance, are to make a convention or treaty with K. Charles the third, for putting the States in a condition of ſafety by means of the ſaid barrier, the Queen of Great Britain will do what depends upon her, that all the foregoing particulars relating to the barrier of the States may be inſerted in the aforeſaid treaty or convention; and that her ſaid Majeſty will continue her good offices, until the abovementioned convention between the States and the ſaid K. Charles the third be concluded, agreeably to what is beforementioned; and that her Majeſty will be guarantee of the ſaid treaty or convention.

ARTICLE XIV.

AND that the ſaid States may enjoy from henceforward, as much as poſſible, a barrier for the Spaniſh Low-Countries, they ſhall be permitted to put their garriſons in the towns already taken, and which may hereafter be ſo, before the peace be concluded and ratified. And in the mean time the ſaid K. Charles the third ſhall not be allowed to enter into poſſeſſion of the ſaid Spaniſh Low-Countries, neither entirely nor in part: and during that time the Queen ſhall aſſiſt their High Mightineſſes to maintain them in the enjoyment of the revenues; and to find the million of livres a year abovementioned.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE XV.

AND whereas their High Mightineſſes have ſtipulated by the treaty of Munſter in the fourteenth article, that the river Scheld, as alſo the canal of Sas, Swan, and other mouths of the ſea bordering thereupon ſhould be kept ſhut on the ſide of the States:

AND in the fifteenth article, that the ſhips and commodities going in and coming out of the harbours of Flanders ſhall be, and remain charged with all ſuch impoſts, and other duties, as are raiſed upon commodities going and coming along the Scheld, and the other canals abovementioned:

THE Queen of Great Britain promiſes and engages, that their High Mightineſſes ſhall never be diſturbed in their right and poſſeſſion in that reſpect, neither directly or indirectly; as alſo, that the commerce ſhall not in prejudice of the ſaid treaty be made more eaſy by the ſea-ports than by the rivers, canals, and mouths of the ſea, on the ſides of the States of the united provinces, neither directly or indirectly.

AND whereas by the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth articles of the ſame treaty of Munſter his Majeſty the King of Spain is obliged to treat the ſubjects of their High Mightineſſes as favourably as the ſubjects of Great Britain and the Hans towns, who were then the people moſt favourably treated; her Britannic Majeſty and their High Mightineſſes promiſe likewiſe to take care that the ſubjects of Great Britain, and of their High Mightineſſes ſhall be treated in the Spaniſh Low-Countries as well as in Spain, the kingdoms and ſtates belonging to it, equally and as well the one as the other, as the people moſt favoured.

ARTICLE XVI.

THE ſaid Queen and States-General oblige themſelves to furniſh by ſea and land the ſuccours and aſſiſtance neceſſary to maintain by force her ſaid Majeſty in the quiet poſſeſſion of her kingdoms; and the moſt ſerene houſe of Hanover in the ſaid ſucceſſion in the manner it is ſettled by the acts of parliament before-mentioned; and to maintain

tain the ſaid States-General in the poſſeſſion of the ſaid barrier.

ARTICLE XVII.

AFTER the ratifications of the treaty a particular convention ſhall be made of the conditions, by which the ſaid Queen, and the ſaid Lords the States General will engage themſelves to furniſh the ſuccours which ſhall be thought neceſſary, as well by ſea as by land.

ARTICLE XVIII.

IF her Britiſh Majeſty, or the States-General of the united provinces, be attacked by any body whatſoever by reaſon of this convention, they ſhall mutually aſſiſt one another with all their forces, and become guarantees of the execution of the ſaid convention.

ARTICLE XIX.

THERE ſhall be invited and admitted into the preſent treaty, as ſoon as poſſible, all the kings, princes, and ſtates, who ſhall be willing to enter into the ſame, particularly his Imperial Majeſty, the Kings of Spain and Pruſſia, and the Elector of Hanover. And her Britiſh Majeſty and the States General of the united provinces, and each of them in particular, ſhall be permitted to require and invite thoſe, whom they ſhall think fit to require and invite, to enter into this treaty, and to be guarantees of its execution.

ARTICLE XX.

AND as time hath ſhewn the omiſſion which was made in the treaty ſigned at Ryſwick in the year 1697, between England and France, in reſpect of the right of the ſucceſſion of England in the perſon of her Majeſty the Queen of Great Britain, now reigning; and that for want of having ſettled in that treaty this indiſputable right of her Majeſty, France refuſed to acknowledge her for Queen of Great Britain after the death of the late K. William III. of glorious memory: her Majeſty the Queen of Great

Britain, and the Lords the States General of the united provinces, do agree, and engage themſelves likewiſe, not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before the title of her Majeſty to the crown of Great Britain, as alſo the right of ſucceſſion of the moſt ſerene houſe of Hanover to the aforeſaid crown, in the manner it is ſettled and eſtabliſhed by the before-mentioned acts of parliament, be fully acknowledged as a preliminary by France, and that France hath promiſed at the ſame time to remove out of its dominions the perſon who pretends to be King of Great Britain; and that no negotiation, or formal diſcuſſion of the articles of the ſaid treaty of peace, ſhall be entered into but jointly, and at the ſame time with the ſaid Queen, or with her miniſters.

ARTICLE XXI.

HER Britiſh Majeſty, and the Lords the States-General of the united provinces, ſhall ratify and confirm all that is contained in the preſent treaty within the ſpace of four weeks, to be reckoned from the day of the ſigning. In teſtimony whereof the underwritten ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of her Britiſh Majeſty, and the deputies of the Lords the States-General have ſigned this preſent treaty, and have affixed their ſeals thereunto.

At the Hague, the 29th of October, in the year 1709.

(L. S.) Townſhend.
(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.
(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.
(L. S.) E. V. Itterſum.
(L. S.) J. V. Welderen.
(L. S.) A. Heinſius.
(L. S.) H. Smlnia.
(L. S.) W. Wichers.

THE

THE SEPARATE ARTICLE.

"AS in the preliminary articles ſigned here at the "Hague, the 28th of May 1709 by the Plenipotentiaries of his Imperial Majeſty, of her "Majeſty the Queen of Great Britain, and of the Lords "the States-General of the united provinces. it is ſtipulated, amongſt other things, that the Lords the States-General ſhall have, with entire property and ſovereignty, the upper quarter of Guelder, according to the fifty "ſecond article of the treaty of Munſter, of the year "1648; as alſo, that the garriſons which are, or hereafter ſhall be, on the part of the Lords the States-General in the town of Huy. the citadel of Liege, and "in the town of Bohne, ſhall remain there, until it ſhall "be otherwiſe agreed upon with his Imperial Majeſty "and the empire: and as the barrier, which is this day "agreed upon in the principal treaty for the mutual "guarantee between her Britiſh Majeſty and the Lords "the States-General, cannot give to the united provinces "the ſafety for which it is eſtabliſhed, unleſs it be well "ſecured from one end to the other, and that the communication of it be well joined together, for which the "upper quarter of Guelder. and the garriſons in the citadel of Liege, Huy, and Bonne are abſolutely neceſſary: (experience having thrice ſhewn, that France "having a deſign to attack the united provinces, has made uſe of the places above-mentioned, in order to "come at them, and to penetrate into the ſaid provinces.) And farther, as in reſpect to the equivalent "for which the upper quarter of Guelder is to be yielded "to the united provinces, according to the fifty ſecond "article of the treaty of Munſter above-mentioned, his "Majeſty K. Charles III. will be much more gratified "and advantaged in other places, than that equivalent "can avail; to the end therefore that the Lords the "States-General may have the upper quarter of Guelder "with entire property and ſovereignty; and that the "ſaid upper quarter of Guelder may be yielded in this "manner to the ſaid Lords the States General, in the "convention, or the treaty that they are to make with

" his Majeſty K. Charles III. according to the thirteenth " article of the treaty concluded this day; as alſo, that " their garriſons in the citadel of Liege, in that of Huy, " and in Bonne, may remain there, until it be otherwiſe " agreed upon with his Imperial Majeſty and the Em- " pire; her Majeſty the Queen of Great Britain en- " gages herſelf, and promiſes by this ſeparate article, " which ſhall have the ſame force as if it were inſerted " in the principal treaty, to make the ſame efforts for " all this, as ſhe hath engaged herſelf to make for the " obtaining the barrier in the Spaniſh Low-Countries. " In teſtimony whereof the under-written ambaſſador " extraordinary and plenipotentiary of her Britiſh Ma- " jeſty, and deputies of the Lords the States-General, " have ſigned the preſent ſeparate article, and have " affixed their ſeals thereunto."

At the Hague, the 29th of October 1709.

(L. S.) Townſhend.
(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.
(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.
(L. S.) E. V. Itterſum.
(L. S.) J. V. Welderen.
(L. S.) A. Heinſius.
(L. S.) H. Sminia.
(L. S.) W. Wichers.

THE SECOND SEPARATE ARTICLE.

" AS the Lords the States-General have repreſented, " that in Flanders the limits between Spaniſh Flan- " ders and that of the States are ſettled in ſuch a " manner as that the land belonging to the States is ex- " tremely narrow there; ſo that in ſome places the ter- " ritory of Spaniſh Flanders extends itſelf to the fortifi- " cations and under the cannon of the places, towns, " and forts of the States, which occaſions many incon- " veniencies, as hath been ſeen by an example a little " before the beginning of the preſent war, when a fort " was deſigned to have been built under the cannon " of the Sas Van Gand, under the pretence, that it was

" upon

" upon the territory of Spain: and as it is neceſſary, for " avoiding theſe, and other ſorts of inconveniencies, that " the land of the States upon the confines of Flanders " ſhould be enlarged, and that the places, towns, and " forts ſhould by that means be better covered: her " Britiſh Majeſty entering into the juſt motives of the " ſaid Lords the States General in this reſpect, promiſes " and engages herſelf, by this ſeparate article, that in the " convention which the ſaid Lords the States-General " are to make with his Majeſty K. Charles III. ſhe will " aſſiſt them as that it may be agreed, that by the ceſſion " to the ſaid Lords the States General of the property of " an extent of land neceſſary to obviate ſuch like, and " other inconveniencies, their limits in Flanders ſhall be " enlarged more conveniently for their ſecurity; and " thoſe of the Spaniſh Flanders removed farther from " their towns, places and forts, to the end that theſe " may not be ſo expoſed any more. In teſtimony " whereof the under-written ambaſſador extraordinary " and plenipotentiary of her Britiſh Majeſty, and deputies " of the Lords the States General have ſigned the pre- " ſent ſeparate article, and have affixed their ſeals there- " unto."

At the Hague, the 29th of October 1709.

(L. S.) Townſhend.
(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.
(L. S.) A. Heinſius.
(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.
(L. S.) H. Sminia.
(L. S.) E. V. Itterſum.

The articles of the Counter-project, which were ſtruck out or altered by the Dutch in the Barrier-treaty; with ſome Remarks.

ARTICLE VI.

TO this end their High Mightineſſes ſhall have power to put and keep garriſons in the following places, *viz.* Newport, Knocke, Menin, the citadel of Liſle, Tournay, Conde, Valenciennes, Namur and its citadel Lier, Halle to fortify, the fort of Perle, Damme, and the caſtle of Gand.

REMARKS.

IN the barrier-treaty the States added the following places to thoſe mentioned in this article, *viz.* Furnes, Ypres, towns of Liſle, Maubeuge, Charleroy, Philippe, fort St Donas (which is to be in property to the States) and the fort of Rodenhuyſen to be demoliſhed. To ſay nothing of the other places, Dendermond is the key of all Brabant; and the demoliſhing of the fort of Rodenhuyſen, ſituate between Gand and Sas Van Gand, can only ſerve to defraud the King of Spain of the duties upon goods imported and exported there.

ARTICLE VII.

THE ſaid States may put into the ſaid towns, forts, and places, and in caſe of open war with France, into all the other towns, places, and forts whatever troops the reaſon of war ſhall require.

REMARKS.

BUT in the barrier-treaty it is ſaid: *in caſe of an apparent attack or war*, without ſpecifying againſt France: neither is the number of troops limited to what the reaſon of war ſhall require, but what the States ſhall think neceſſary.

ARTICLE IX.

BESIDES ſome ſmaller differences, ends with a ſalvo, not only for the eccleſiaſtical and civil rights of the King of Spain, but likewiſe for his revenues in the ſaid towns; which revenues in the barrier-treaty are all given to the States.

ARTICLE XI.

THE revenues of the chatellanies and dependencies of the towns and places, which the States ſhall have for their barrier againſt France, and which were not in the poſſeſſion of the crown of Spain at the late King of Spain's death, ſhall be ſettled to be a fund for maintaining garriſons, and providing for the fortifications and magazines,

sines, and other neceſſary charges of the ſaid towns of the barrier.

REMARKS.

I deſire the reader to compare this with the eleventh article of the barrier treaty, where he will ſee how prodigiouſly it is enlarged.

ARTICLE XIV.

ALL this to be without prejudice to ſuch other treaties and conventions as the Queen of Great Britain and their High Mightineſſes may think fit to make for the future with the ſaid K. Charles III. relating to the ſaid Spaniſh Netherlands, or to the ſaid barrier.

ARTICLE XV.

AND to the end that the ſaid States may enjoy at preſent, as much as it is poſſible, a barrier in the Spaniſh Netherlands, they ſhall be permitted to put their garriſons in the chief towns already taken, or that may be taken, before a peace be made.

REMARKS.

THESE two articles are not in the barrier-treaty, but two others in their ſtead; to which I refer the reader. And indeed it was highly neceſſary for the Dutch to ſtrike out the former of theſe articles, when ſo great a part of the treaty is ſo highly and manifeſtly prejudicial to Great Britain, as well as to the King of Spain; eſpecially in the two articles inſerted in the place of theſe, which I deſire the reader will examine.

ARTICLE XX.

AND whereas by the fifth and ninth articles of the alliance between the Emperor, the late King of Great Britain, and the States-General, concluded the ſeventh of September 1701. it is agreed and ſtipulated, that the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily with all the dependencies

of

of the crown of Spain in Italy ſhall be recovered from the poſſeſſion of France, as being of the laſt conſequence to the trade of both nations, as well as the Spaniſh Netherlands for a barrier for the States General; therefore the ſaid Queen of Great Britain, and the States-General agree and oblige themſelves not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before the reſtitution of the ſaid kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with all the dependencies of the crown of Spain in Italy as well as the Spaniſh Low-Countries, with the other towns and places in the poſſeſſion of France above-mentioned in this treaty; and alſo after the manner ſpecified in this treaty; as likewiſe all the reſt of the entire monarchy of Spain be yielded by France as a preliminary.

ARTICLE XXII.

AND whereas experience hath ſhewn of what importance it is to Great Britain and the United Provinces, that the fortreſs and port of Dunkirk ſhould not be in the poſſeſſion of France in the condition they are at preſent; the ſubjects of both nations having undergone ſuch great loſſes, and ſuffered ſo much in their trade by the prizes taken from them by privateers ſet out from that port; inſomuch that France, by her unmeaſurable ambition, may be always tempted to make ſome enterprizes upon the territories of the Queen of Great Britain and their High Mightineſſes, and interrupt the public repoſe and tranquillity; for the preſervation of which, and the balance of Europe againſt the exorbitant power of France the allies engaged themſelves in this long and burthenſome war; therefore the ſaid Queen of Great Britain, and their High Mightineſſes agree, and oblige themſelves not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before it ſhall be yielded and ſtipulated by France as a preliminary, that all the fortifications of the ſaid town of Dunkirk, and the forts that depend upon it, be entirely demoliſhed and razed, and that the port be entirely ruined and rendered impracticable.

REMARKS.

REMARKS.

THESE two articles are likewiſe omitted in the barrier-treaty; whereof the firſt regards particularly the intereſts of the houſe of Auſtria; and the other about demoliſhing Dunkirk thoſe of Great Britain. It is ſomething ſtrange, that the late miniſtry, whoſe advocates raiſe ſuch a clamour about the neceſſity of recovering Spain from the houſe of Bourbon, ſhould ſuffer the Dutch to ſtrike out this article, which I think clearly ſhews the reaſon why the States never troubled themſelves with the thoughts of reducing Spain, or even recovering Milan, Naples, and Sicily to the Emperor; but were wholly fixed upon the conqueſt of Flanders, becauſe they had determined thoſe provinces as a property for themſelves.

As for the article about demoliſhing of Dunkirk, I am not at all ſurprized to find it ſtruck out; the deſtruction of that place. altho' it would be uſeful to the States, doth more nearly import Britain, and was therefore a point that ſuch miniſters could more eaſily get over.

The ſentiments of Prince EUGENE *of Savoy, and of the Count* DE SINZENDORF, *relating to the barrier of the States-General, to the upper quarter of Guelder, and to the towns of the electorate of Cologn, and of the biſhoprie of Liege.*

ALTHO' the orders and inſtructions of the courts of Vienna and Barcelona upon the matters above-mentioned do not go ſo far as to give directions for what follows; notwithſtanding, the Prince and Count above-mentioned conſidering the preſent ſtate of affairs, are of the following opinion:

FIRST, That the counter-project of England relating to the places where the States-General may put and keep garriſons, ought to be followed, except Tier, Halle to fortify, and the Caſtle of Gand. Provided likewiſe that the ſentiments of England be particularly conformed to relating to Dendermond and Oſtend, as places in no wiſe be-

belonging to the barrier; and which, as well as the caſtle of Gand, can only ſerve to make the States-General maſters of the Low-Countries, and hinder trade with England. And as to Lier and Halle, thoſe who are acquainted with the country know that theſe towns cannot give any ſecurity to the States-General; but can only make people believe, that theſe places being fortified would rather ſerve to block up Bruſſels and the other great cities of Brabant.

SECONDLY, As to what is ſaid in the ſeventh article of the counter-project of England, relating to the augmentation of garriſons in the towns of the barrier in caſe of an open war; this is agreeable to the opinions of the ſaid Prince and Count; who think likewiſe, that there ought to be added to the eighth article, that no goods or merchandiſe ſhould be ſent into the towns where the States-General ſhall have garriſons, nor be comprehended under the names of ſuch things as the ſaid garriſons and fortifications ſhall have need of. And that to this end the ſaid things ſhall be inſpected in thoſe places where they are to paſs; as likewiſe the quantity ſhall be ſettled that the garriſons may want.

THIRDLY, As to the ninth article relating to the governors and commanders of thoſe towns, forts, and places where the States General ſhall have their garriſons: the ſaid Prince and Count are of opinion, that the ſaid governors and commanders ought to take an oath as well to the King of Spain as to the States-General: but they may take a particular oath to the latter, that they will not admit foreign troops without their conſent; and that they will depend excluſively upon the ſaid States in whatever regards the military power. But at the ſame time they ought excluſively to promiſe the King of Spain, that they will not intermeddle in the affairs of law, civil power, revenues, or any other matters, eccleſiaſtical or civil, unleſs at the deſire of the King's officers to aſſiſt them in the execution; in which caſe the ſaid commanders ſhould be obliged not to refuſe them.

FOURTHLY, As to the tenth article there is nothing to be added, unleſs that the States-General may repair and encreaſe the fortifications of the towns, places, and forts where they ſhall have their garriſons; but this at their own

own expence. Otherwiſe, under that pretext they might ſeize all the revenues of the country.

FIFTHLY, As to the eleventh article they think the States ought not to have the revenues of the chatellanies and dependencies of theſe towns and places which are to be their barrier againſt France; this being a ſort of ſovereignty, and very prejudicial to the eccleſiaſtical and civil œconomy of the country. Put the ſaid Prince and Count are of opinion, that the States-General ought to have, for the maintenance of their garriſons and fortifications, a ſum of money of a million and a half, or two millions of florins, which they ought to receive from the King's officers, who ſhall be ordered to pay that ſum before any other payment.

SIXTHLY, And the convention which ſhall be made on this affair between his Catholic Majeſty and the States-General ſhall be for a limited time.

THESE are the utmoſt conditions to which the ſaid Prince and Count think it poſſible for his Catholic Majeſty to be brought; and they declare at the ſame time, that their Imperial and Catholic Majeſties will ſooner abandon the Low Countries, than take them upon other conditions, which would be equally expenſive, ſhameful, and unacceptable to them.

ON the other ſide, the ſaid Prince and Count are perſuaded, that the advantages at this time yielded to the States-General may hereafter be very prejudicial to themſelves; foraſmuch as they may put the people of the Spaniſh Netherlands to ſome dangerous extremity, conſidering the antipathy between the two nations; and that extending of frontiers is entirely contrary to the maxims of their government.

As to the upper quarter of Guelder, the ſaid Prince and Count are of opinion, that the States-General may be allowed the power of putting in garriſons into Venlo, Ruremond and Steffenſwaert, with orders to furniſh the ſaid States with the revenues of the country, which amount to one hundred thouſand florins.

AS to Bonne, belonging to the electorate of Cologn, Liege, and Huy to the biſhopric of Liege, it is to be underſtood, that theſe being *imperial* towns, it doth not depend upon the Emperor to conſent that foreign garriſons

ſons ſhould be placed in them upon any pretence whatſoever. But whereas the States-General demand them only for their ſecurity, it is propoſed to place in thoſe towns a garriſon of *imperial* troops of whom the States may be in no ſuſpicion, as they might be of a garriſon of an elector, who might poſſibly have views oppoſite to their intereſts. But this is propoſed only in caſe that it ſhall not be thought more proper to raze one or other of the ſaid towns.

The REPRESENTATION of the Engliſh merchants at Bruges, relating to the BARRIER-TREATY.

DAVID WHITE, *and other merchants, her Majeſty's ſubjects reſiding at* BRUGES, *and other towns in* Flanders, *crave leave humbly to repreſent,*

THAT whereas the cities of Liſle, Tournay, Menin, Doway, and other new conqueſts in Flanders and Artois, taken from the French this war by the united forces of her Majeſty and her allies, are now become entirely under the government of the States-General; and that we her Majeſty's ſubjects may be made liable to ſuch duties and impoſitions on trade as the ſaid States-General ſhall think fit to impoſe on us: we humbly hope and conceive, that it is her Majeſty's intention and deſign, that the trade of her dominions and ſubjects, which is carried on with theſe new conqueſts, may be on an equal foot with that of the ſubjects and dominions of the States-General, and not be liable to any new duty, when tranſported from the Spaniſh Netherlands to the ſaid new conqueſts, as to our great ſurprize is exacted from us on the following goods, *viz.* butter, tallow, ſalmon, hides, beef, and all other product of her Majeſty's dominions, which we import at Oſtend, and there pay the duty of entry to the King of Spain, and conſequently ought not to be liable to any new duty, when they carry the ſame goods, and all others, from their dominions by a free paſs or *tranſire* to the ſaid new conqueſts: and we are under apprehenſion, that if the ſaid new conqueſts be ſettled,

tled, or given entirely into the poſſeſſion of the States-General for their barrier, (as we are made believe by a treaty lately made by her Majeſty's ambaſſador, Lord Viſcount Townſhend, at the Hague) that the States-General may alſo ſoon declare all goods and merchandiſes, which are contraband in their provinces to be alſo contraband or prohibited in theſe new conqueſts or new barrier; by which her Majeſty's ſubjects will be deprived of the ſale and conſumption of the following product of her Maieſty's dominions, which are and have long been declared contraband in the united provinces, ſuch as Engliſh and Scots ſalt, malt ſpirits, or corn brandy, and all other ſorts of diſtilled Engliſh ſpirits, whale and rape oil, &c.

IT is therefore humbly conceived, that her Majeſty, out of her great care and gracious concern for the benefit of her ſubjects and dominions may be pleaſed to direct, by a treaty of commerce, or ſome other way, that their trade may put on an equal foot in all the Spaniſh Netherlands, and the new conqueſts of barrier with the ſubjects of Holland, by paying no other duty than that of importation to the King of Spain; and by a proviſion, that no product of her Majeſty's dominions ſhall ever be declared contraband in theſe new conqueſts, except ſuch goods as were eſteemed contraband before the death of Charles II. King of Spain. And it is alſo humbly prayed, that the product and manufacture of the new conqueſts may be alſo exported without paying any new duty, beſides that of exportation at Oſtend, which was always paid to the King of Spain; it being impoſſible for any nation in Europe to aſſort an entire cargoe for the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies without a conſiderable quantity of ſeveral of the manufactures of Liſle; ſuch as caradoros, cajant, picoſes, boratten, and many other goods.

THE chief things to be demanded of France are, to be exempted from tonnage, to have a liberty of importing herrings, and all other fiſh to France on the ſame terms as the Dutch do, and as was agreed by them at the treaty of commerce immediately after the treaty of peace at Ryſwick. The enlarging her Majeſty's plantations in America &c. is naturally recommended.

THE EXAMINER.*

N° 13. Thurſday, November 2. 1710.

——Longa eſt injuria, longæ
Ambages; ſed ſumma ſequar faſtigia rerum.

IT is a practice I have generally followed, to converſe in equal freedom with the deſerving men of both parties; and it was never without ſome contempt, that I have obſerved perſons wholly out of employment affect

* In Auguſt 1710, a weekly paper, called *The* EXAMINER, began to be publiſhed. It was eſteemed to be the work of ſeveral eminent hands; among which were reckoned Lord Bolingbroke, Dr Atterbury Biſhop of Rocheſter, Mr Prior, and ſome others. However it came about, the general opinion is, that thoſe perſons proceeded no further than to the firſt twelve papers: after which it ſeems to be agreed, that the undertaking was carried on by Dr Swift, who began with number 13. and ended at number 50. For altho' the paper continued many months after to be publiſhed, under the title of *The* EXAMINER; yet, by the inequality of the performance, it was manifeſt to all judicious perſons, that Dr Swift had not the leaſt ſhare in them.
Dublin edition.

As N° 13. was the firſt of theſe papers written by Dr Swift, N° 44. was the laſt. Six more have been printed in the Iriſh edition; which is a proof, among many others, that he was not the editor. In a letter of his to Stella, dated June 7. 1711. the day on which the Examiner, N° 41. was publiſhed, there is the following paragraph. "As for the EXAMINER, I have "heard a whiſper, that after that of this day, which tells what "this parliament has done, you will hardly find them ſo good; "I propheſy they will be traſh for the future; and methinks in "this day's *Examiner*, the author talks doubtfully, as if he "would write no more; ſo that if they go on, they may pro-
"bably

affect to do otherwiſe. I doubted, whether any man could owe ſo much to the ſide he was of, altho' he were retained by it; but without ſome great point of intereſt, either in poſſeſſion or proſpect, I thought it was the mark of a low and narrow ſpirit.

IT is hard, that for ſome weeks paſt I have been forced in my own defence to follow a proceeding, that I have ſo much condemned in others. But ſeveral of my acquaintance among the declining party are grown ſo inſufferably peeviſh and ſplenetic, profeſs ſuch violent apprehenſions for the public, and repreſent the ſtate of things in ſuch formidable ideas, that I find myſelf diſpoſed to ſhare in their afflictions; altho' I know them to be groundleſs and imaginary, or, which is worſe, purely affected. To offer them comfort one by one, would be not only an end-

"bably he by ſome other hand: which, in my opinion, is a "thouſand pities; but who can help it? Obſerve whether the "change be diſcovered in Dublin; only for your own curioſity, "that's all." In a ſubſequent letter dated Auguſt 24. he ſays, "The *Examiner* has been down this month, and was very ſilly "the five or ſix laſt papers. *Hawkeſ.*

The EXAMINER was a weekly paper in defence of the *Tory* miniſtry. This paper, as it was carried on by ſome very eminent hands, having obtained a vogue, Swift took up the character of the *Examiner*, and commenced a regular ſeries of politics with N° 13. Nov. 2. 1710.; and having completed the main deſign which firſt engaged him in the undertaking, with N° 44 June 7. 1711. and taken his leave of the town, as appears from the two laſt paragraphs of that number, he dropt the character of the *Examiner* and never more writ another paper. ——— There was a paper indeed ſtill ſupported under the title of the *Examiner*; but it ſunk immediately into rudeneſs and ill manners: and, what is ſtill more, I can take upon me to aſſert from undeniable authority, even from the authority of Dr Swift himſelf, that in fact the ſcurrility in thoſe papers was encouraged by the miniſtry. In ſhort, the ſubſequent *Examiners* were written by ſome under ſpurleathers in the city, and were deſigned merely as proper returns to thoſe Grub-ſtreet invectives which were thrown out againſt the adminiſtration by the authors of the *Medley*, the *Britiſh*, and ſome other virulent detracting papers of the like ſtamp. *Swift.*

leſs. but a diſobliging taſk. Some of them, I am convinced, would be le s melancholy if there were more occaſi n I ſhall therefore, inſtead of hearkening to farther complaints. employ ſome part of this paper for the future in ſetting ſuch men ſee, that their natural or acquired fears are ill grounded, and their artificial ones as ill inte. ded ; that all our preſent inconveniencies are the conſequence of the very counſels they ſo much admire, which would ſtill have encreaſed if thoſe had continued; and that neither our conſtitution in church or ſtate could pr.bably have been long preſerved without ſuch methods as have been already taken.

THE late revolutions at court have given room to ſome ſpecious objections, which I have heard repeated by well-meaning men, juſt as they had taken them up on the credit of others. who have worſe deſigns. They wonder. the Queen would chuſe to change her miniſtry at this juncture. and thereby give uneaſineſs to a General, who hath been ſo long ſucceſsful abroad. and might think himſelf injured, if the entire miniſtry were not of his own nomination ; that there were few complaints of any conſequence againſt the late men in power, and none at all in parliament. which on the contrary paſſed votes in favour of the chief miniſter ; that, if her Majeſty had a mind to introduce the other party. it would have been more ſeaſonable after a peace, which now we have made deſperate by ſpiriting the French. who rejoice at theſe changes and by the fall of our credit, which unqualifies us for carrying on the war ; that the parliament, ſo untimely diſſolved, had been diligent in their ſupplies, and dutiful in their behaviour; that one conſequence of theſe changes appears already in the fall of the ſtocks : that we may ſoon expect more and worſe ; and laſtly. that all this naturally tends to break the ſettlement of the crown, and call over the Pretender.

THESE, and the like notions, are plentifully ſcattered abroad by the malice of a ruined party. to render the Queen and her adminiſtration odious. and to inflame the nation. And theſe are what. upon occaſion. I ſhall endeavour to overthrow by diſcovering the falſhood and abſurdity of them.

It

IT is a great unhappineſs, when in a government conſtituted like ours it ſhould be ſo brought about, that the continuance of a war muſt be for the intereſt of vaſt numbers (civil, as well as military) who otherwiſe would have been as unknown, as their original. I think our preſent condition of affairs is admirably deſcribed by two verſes in Lucan:

Hinc uſura vorax, avidumque in tempore foenus,
Hinc concuſſa fides, et multis utile bellum.

Which, without any great force upon the words, may be thus tranſlated:

"Hence are derived thoſe exorbitant intereſts and "annuities; hence thoſe large diſcounts for advance "and prompt payment; hence public credit is ſhaken; "and hence great numbers find their profit in prolonging "the war."

IT is odd, that among a free trading people, as we call ourſelves, there ſhould ſo many be found to cloſe in with thoſe counſels, who have been ever averſe from all overtures towards a peace: but yet there is no great myſtery in the matter Let any man obſerve the equipages in this town, he ſhall find the greater number of thoſe, who make a figure, to be a ſpecies of men quite different from any, that were ever known before the revolution; conſiſting either of generals and colonels, or of thoſe, whoſe whole fortunes lie in funds and ſtocks; ſo that *power*, which according to the old maxim was uſed to follow *land*, is now gone over to *money*; and the country gentleman is in the condition of a young heir, out of whoſe eſtate a ſcrivener receive half the rents for intereſt, and hath a mortgage on the whole; and is therefore always ready to feed his vices and extravagancies, while there is any thing left. So that if the war continue ſome years longer, a landed man will be little better than a farmer of a rack-rent to the army and to the public funds.

It may perhaps be worth enquiring, from what beginnings and by what ſteps we have been brought into this deſperate condition: and in ſearch of this we muſt run up as high as the revolution.

MOST of the nobility and gentry, who invited over the Prince of Orange, or attended him in his expedition,

were true lovers of their country, and its conſtitution in church and ſtate, and were brought to yield to thoſe breaches in the ſucceſſion of the crown, out of a regard to the neceſſity of the kingdom and the ſafety of the people which did and could only, make them lawful; but without intention of drawing ſuch a practice into precedent, or making it a ſtanding meaſure by which to proceed in all times to come; and therefore we find their counſels ever tended to keep things, as much as poſſible, in the old courſe. But ſoon after, and under a ſet of men who had nothing to loſe, and had neither borne the burthen nor heat of the day, found means to whiſper in the King's ear, that the principles of loyalty in the church of England were wholly inconſiſtent with the *revolution*. Hence began the early practice of careſſing the diſſenters, reviling the univerſities, as maintainers of arbitrary power, and reproaching the clergy with the doctrines of *divine right*, *paſſive obedience*, and *non-reſiſtance*. At the ſame time, in order to faſten wealthy people to the new government, they propoſed thoſe pernicious expedients of borrowing money by vaſt *premiums*, and at exorbitant intereſt: a practice as old as Eumenes, one of Alexander's captains, who ſetting up for himſelf after the death of his maſter, perſuaded his principal officers to lend him great ſums after which they were forced to follow him for their own ſecurity

THIS introduced a number of new dextrous men into buſineſs and credit. It was argued, that the war could not laſt above two or three campaigns; and that it was eaſier for the ſubjects to raiſe a fund for paying intereſt, than to tax them annually to the full expence of the war. Several perſons, who had ſmall or incumbered eſtates, ſold them, and turned their money into thoſe funds, to great advantage: merchants, as well as other monied men finding trade was dangerous, purſued the ſame method. But the war continuing, and growing more expenſive, taxes were increaſed, and funds multiplied every year, till they have arrived at the monſtrous height we now behold them; and that, which was at firſt a corruption, is at laſt grown neceſſary, and what every good ſubject muſt now fall in with, altho' he may be allowed to wiſh it might ſoon have an end; becauſe it is with

with a kingdom as with a private fortune, where every new incumbrance adds a double weight. By this means the wealth of a nation, that uſed to be reckoned by the value of land, is now computed by the riſe and fall of ſtocks: and altho' the foundation of credit be ſtill the ſame, and upon a bottom that can never be ſhaken, and altho' all intereſt be duly paid by the public; yet, thro' the contrivance and cunning of *ſtock-jobbers*, there hath been brought in ſuch a complication of knavery and cozenage, ſuch a myſtery of iniquity, and ſuch an unintelligible jargon of terms to involve it in, as were never known in any other age or country in the world. I have heard it affirmed by perſons ſkilled in theſe calculations, that if the funds appropriated to the payment of intereſt and annuities were added to the yearly taxes, and the four-ſhilling aid ſtrictly exacted in all counties of the kingdom, it would very near, if not fully, ſupply the occaſions of the war; at leaſt ſuch a part as, in the opinion of very able perſons, had been at that time prudent not to exceed. For I make it a queſtion. Whether any wiſe prince or ſtate in the continuance of a war, which was not purely defenſive, or immediately at his own door, did ever propoſe that his expence ſhould perpetually exceed what he was able to impoſe annually upon his ſubjects? Neither if the war laſt many years longer, do I ſee how the next generation will be able to begin another; which in the courſe of human affairs, and according to the various intereſts and ambition of princes, may be as neceſſary for them as it hath been for us. And if our fathers had left us as deeply involved, as we are likely to leave our children, I appeal to any man, what ſort of figure we ſhould have been able to make theſe twenty years paſt. Beſides, neither our enemies nor allies are upon the ſame foot with us in this particular. France and Holland, our neareſt neighbours, and the fartheſt engaged, will much ſooner recover themſelves after a war: the firſt, by the abſolute power of the prince, who being maſter of the lives and fortunes of his ſubjects, will quickly find expedients to pay his debts; and ſo will the other, by their prudent adminiſtration the greatneſs of their trade, their wonderful parſimony, the willingneſs of their people to undergo all kind of taxes, and their

juſtice

juſtice in applying as well as collecting them. But above all. we are to conſider, that France and Holland fight on the continent, either upon or near their own territories, and the greateſt part of the money circulates among themſelves; whereas ours croſſes the ſea, either to Flanders. Spain. or Portugal, and every penny of it, whether in ſpecie or returns, is ſo much loſt to the nation for ever.

UPON theſe conſiderations alone, it was the moſt prudent courſe imaginable in the Queen, to lay hold of the diſpoſition of the people for changing the parliament and miniſtry at this juncture, and extricating herſelf as ſoon as poſſible out of the pupillage of thoſe, who found their accounts only in perpetuating the war. Neither have we the leaſt reaſon to doubt, but the enſuing parliament will aſſiſt her Majeſty with the utmoſt vigour, until her enemies again be brought to ſue for peace, and *again* offer ſuch terms as will make it both honourable and laſting; only with this difference, that the miniſtry perhaps will not *again* refuſe them.

Audiet pugnas vitio parentum
Rara Juventus.

No. 14. Thurſday, November 9. 1710.

E quibus hi vacuas implent ſermonibus aures,
Hi narrata ferunt alto: menſuraque ficti
Creſcit, et auditis aliquid novus adjicit auctor.
Illic credulitas, illic temerarius error,
Vanaque lætitia eſt, conſternatique timores,
Seditioque recens, dubioque auctore ſuſurri.

I AM prevailed on. thro' the importunity of friends, to interrupt the ſcheme I had begun in my laſt paper, by an eſſay upon the art of *political lying*. We are told *the devil is the father of lies*, and *was a liar from the beginning*; ſo that, beyond contradiction, the invention is old: and, which is more, his firſt eſſay of it was purely *political*, employed in undermining the authority of his Prince, and ſeducing the third part of the ſubjects from their

their obedience; for which he was driven down from heaven, where, as Milton expreſſeth it, he had been *Viceroy* of a great *weſtern province*; and forced to exerciſe his talent in inferior regions among *other fallen ſpirits* or *poor deluded men*, whom he ſtill daily tempts to *his own ſin*, and will ever do ſo, till he be *chained in the bottomleſs pit*.

BUT altho' the devil be the father of *lies*, he ſeems, like other great inventors, to have loſt much of his reputation by the continual improvements, that have been made upon him.

WHO firſt reduced *lying* into an art, and adapted it to *politics*, is not ſo clear from hiſtory; altho' I have made ſome diligent inquiries. I ſhall therefore conſider it only according to the modern ſyſtem, as it hath been cultivated theſe twenty years paſt in the ſouthern part of our own iſland.

THE poets tell us, that after the giants were overthrown by the gods, the *earth* in revenge produced her laſt offspring, which was *Fame*. And the fable is thus interpreted; that when tumults and ſeditions are quieted, rumours and falſe reports are plentifully ſpread thro' a nation. So that by this account *lying* is the laſt relief of a *routed, earth-born, rebellious party* in a ſtate. But here the moderns have made great additions, applying this art to the gaining of power and preſerving it, as well as revenging themſelves after they have loſt it; as the ſame inſtruments are made uſe of by animals to feed themſelves when they are hungry, and to bite thoſe that tread upon them.

BUT the ſame genealogy cannot always be admitted for *political lying*; I ſhall therefore deſire to refine upon it, by adding ſome circumſtances of its birth and parents. A *political lie* is ſometimes born out of a diſcarded ſtateſman' head and thence delivered to be nurſed and dandled by the *rabble*. Sometimes it is produced a monſter, and *licked* into ſhape: at other times it comes into the world completely formed, and is ſpoiled in the *licking*. It is often born an infant in the regular way, and requires time to mature it; and often it ſees the light in its full growth, but dwindles away by degrees. Sometimes it is of noble birth; and ſometimes the ſpawn of a *ſtock-jobber*.

Here

Here it ſcreams aloud at the opening of the womb; and *there* it is delivered with a *whiſper*. I know a *lie*, that now diſturbs half the kingdom with its noiſe, which, altho' too proud and great at preſent to own its parents, I can remember its *whiſper-hood*. To conclude the nativity of this monſter; when it comes into the world without a *ſting*, it is ſtill-born; and whenever it loſes its *ſting*, it dies.

No wonder if an infant ſo miraculous in its birth ſhould be deſtined for great adventures. and accordingly we ſee it hath been the *guardian ſpirit* of a *prevailing party* for almoſt twenty years. It can conquer kingdoms without fighting, and ſometimes with the loſs of a battle. It gives and reſumes employments; can ſink a mountain to a mole-hill, and raiſe a mole-hill to a mountain; hath preſided for many years at committees of elections; can waſh a *black-a-more* white; make a ſaint of an atheiſt, and a patriot of a profligate; can furniſh *foreign miniſters* with intelligence; and raiſe or let fall the credit of the nation. This goddeſs flies with a huge *looking-glaſs* in her hands to dazzle the croud, and make them ſee, according as ſhe turns it, their ruin in their intereſt, and their intereſt in their ruin. In this glaſs you will behold your beſt friends clad in coats powdered with *fleurs de lis* and *triple crowns*, their girdles hung round with *chain*, and *beads*, and *wooden ſhoes*; and your worſt enemies adorned with the enſigns of *liberty*, *property*, *indulgence*, *moderation*, and a *cornucopia* in their hands. Her large wings, like thoſe of a flying fiſh, are of no uſe but while they are moiſt; ſhe therefore dips them in *mud*, and ſoaring aloft ſcatters it in the eyes of the multitude, flying with great ſwiftneſs; but at every turn is forced to ſtoop in *dirty ways* for new ſupplies.

I have been ſometimes thinking, if a man had the art of the *ſecond ſight* for ſeeing *lies*, as they have in Scotland for ſeeing ſpirits, how admirably he might entertain himſelf in this town by obſerving the different ſhapes, ſizes, and colours of thoſe ſwarms of *lies*, which buz about the heads of ſome people, like flies about a horſe's ears in ſummer; or thoſe legions hovering every afternoon in Exchange-Alley, enough to darken the air; or over

over a club of diſcontented grandees, and thence ſent down in cargoes to be ſcattered at elections.

THERE is one eſſential point wherein a *political liar* differs from others of the faculty; that he ought to have but a ſhort memory, which is neceſſary according to the various occaſions he meets with every hour of differing from himſelf, and ſwearing to both ſides of a contradiction, as he finds the perſons diſpoſed, with whom he hath to deal. In deſcribing the virtues and vices of mankind it is convenient, upon every article, to have ſome eminent perſon in our eye, from whom we copy our deſcription. I have ſtrictly obſerved this rule; and my imagination this minute repreſents before me a certain *great man**, famous for this talent, to the conſtant practice of which he owes his twenty years reputation of the moſt ſkilful head in England for the management of nice affairs. The ſuperiority of his genius conſiſts in nothing elſe, but an inexhauſtible fund of *political lies*, which he plentifully diſtributes every minute he ſpeaks, and by an unparallelled generoſity forgets, and conſequently contradicts, the next half hour. He never yet conſidered, whether any propoſition were true or falſe, but whether it were convenient for the preſent minute or company to affirm or deny it; ſo that if you think fit to refine upon him, by interpreting every thing he ſays, as we do dream, by the contrary, you are ſtill to ſeek, and will find yourſelf equally deceived whether you believe or no: the only remedy is to ſuppoſe, that you have heard ſome inarticulate ſounds without any meaning at all, and beſides, that will take off the horror you might be apt to conceive at the oaths, wherewith he perpetually tags both ends of every *propoſition*; altho' at the ſame time, I think, he cannot with any juſtice be taxed with perjury, when he invokes God and Chriſt; becauſe he hath often fairly given public notice to the world, that he believes in neither.

SOME people may think, that ſuch an accompliſhment as this can be of no great uſe to the owner, or his party, after it hath been often practiſed, and is become notorious; but they are widely miſtaken. Few *lies* carry the inventor's

* The late Earl of Wharton.

inventor's mark, and the moſt proſtitute enemy to truth may ſpread a thouſand without being known for the author: beſides, as the vileſt writer hath his readers, ſo the greateſt liar hath his believers: and it often happens, that if a *lie* be believed only for an hour, it hath done its work, and there is no farther occaſion for it. *Falſhood flies*, and *truth* comes *limping* after it; ſo that when men come to be undeceived, it is too late; the jeſt is over, and the tale has had its effect: like a man, who has thought of a good repartee, when the diſcourſe is changed, or the company parted, or like a phyſician, who hath found out an infallible medicine, after the patient is dead.

CONSIDERING that natural diſpoſition in many men to *lie*, and in multitudes to *believe*, I have been perplexed what to do with that maxim ſo frequent in every body's mouth; that *truth will at laſt prevail*. Here hath this iſland of ours, for the greateſt part of twenty years, lain under the influence of ſuch counſels and perſons, whoſe principle and intereſt it was to corrupt our manners, blind our underſtanding, drain our wealth, and in time deſtroy our conſtitution both in church and ſtate; and we at laſt were brought to the very brink of ruin; yet, by the means of perpetual repreſentations, have never been able to diſtinguiſh between our enemies and friends. We have ſeen a great part of the nation's money got into the hands of thoſe, who, by their birth, education, and merit, could pretend no higher than to wear our liveries; while others, who, by their credit, quality, and fortune, were only able to give reputation and ſucceſs to the revolution, were not only laid aſide as dangerous and uſeleſs, but loaden with the ſcandal of Jacobites, men of *arbitrary principles*, and *penſioners* to France; while truth, who is ſaid to *lye in a well*, ſeemed now to be buried there under a heap of ſtones. But I remember, it was an uſual complaint among the Whigs, that the bulk of the landed men was not in their intereſts, which ſome of the wiſeſt looked on as an ill omen; and we ſaw it was with the utmoſt difficulty, that they could preſerve a majority, while the court and miniſtry were on their ſide, till they had learned thoſe admirable expedients for deciding elections, and influencing diſtant boroughs by *powerful motives* from the city. But all this was mere force and

conſtraint

conſtraint, however upheld by moſt dextrous artifice and management, until the people began to apprehend their *properties*, their *religion*, and the *ſucceſſion* itſelf in danger; then we ſaw them greedily laying hold on the firſt occaſion to interpoſe. But of this mighty change in the diſpoſitions of the people I ſhall diſcourſe more at large in ſome following paper; wherein I ſhall endeavour to undeceive or diſcover thoſe deluded or deluding perſons, who hope or pretend, it is only a ſhort madneſs in the vulgar, from which they may ſoon recover; whereas, I believe, it will appear to be very different in its cauſes, its ſymptoms, and its conſequences; and prove a great example to illuſtrate the maxim I lately mentioned; that *truth* (however, ſometimes late) *will at laſt prevail.*

No. 15. Thurſday, November 16. 1710.

——medioque ut limite curras,
Icare, ait, moneo: ne ſi demiſſior ibis,
Unda graves pennas; ſi celſior, ignis adurat.

IT muſt be avowed, that for ſome years paſt, there have been few things more wanted in England than ſuch a paper, as this ought to be: and ſuch as I will endeavour to make it, as long as it ſhall be found of any uſe, without entering into the violences of either party. Conſidering the many grievous miſrepreſentations of perſons and things, it is highly requiſite at this juncture, that the people throughout the kingdom ſhould, if poſſible, be ſet right in their opinions by ſome impartial hand; which hath never been yet attempted; thoſe, who have hitherto undertaken it, being upon every account, the leaſt qualified of all human kind for ſuch a work.

WE live here under a limited monarchy, and under the doctrine and diſcipline of an excellent church. We are unhappily divided into two parties, both which pretend a mighty zeal for our religion and government, only they diſagree about the means. The evils we muſt fence againſt, are on one ſide, fanaticiſm and infidelity in religion, and anarchy, under the name of a commonwealth, in government; on the other ſide, popery, ſlave-

ry, and the Pretender from France. Now, to inform and direct us in our sentiments upon these weighty points, here are on one side two stupid illiterate scriblers, both of them *fanatics* by profession, I mean the *Review* and *Observator*; on the other side, we have an open *Nonjuror* *, whose character and person, as well as learning and good sense, discovered upon other subjects, do indeed deserve respect and esteem; but his *Rehearsal*, and the rest of his political papers, are yet more pernicious, than those of the former two. If the generality of the people know not how to *talk* or *think*, until they have read their *lesson* in the papers of the week, what a misfortune is it, that their duty should be conveyed to them thro' such *vehicles* as those? For, let some gentlemen think what they please, I cannot but suspect, that the two worthies I first mentioned have, in a degree, done mischief among us; the mock authoritative manner of the one, and the insipid mirth of the other, however insupportable to reasonable ears, being of a level with great numbers among the lowest part of mankind. Neither was the author of the *Rehearsal*, while he continued that paper, less infectious to many persons of better figure, who perhaps were as well qualified, and much less prejudiced, to judge for themselves.

IT was this reason, that moved me to take the matter out of those *rough*, as well as those *dirty* hands; to let the remote and uninstructed part of the nation see, that they have been misled on both sides by mad ridiculous extremes, at a wide distance on each side from the truth; while the right path is so broad and plain as to be easily kept, if they were once put into it.

FURTHER: I had lately entered on a resolution to take very little notice of other papers, unless it were such, where the malice and falshood had so great a mixture of wit and spirit, as would make them dangerous: which, in the present circle of scriblers, from twelve-pence to a half-penny, I could easily foresee would not very frequently occur. But here again I am forced to dispense with my resolution, altho' it be only to tell my reader, what measures I am like to take on such occasions for the future.

* The Reverend Mr Charles Leslie.

future. I was told that the paper, called, *The Obſervator*, was twice filled laſt week with remarks upon a late *Examiner*. Theſe I read with the firſt opportunity, and to ſpeak in the news-writers phraſe, they give me *occaſion for many ſpeculations*. I obſerved with ſingular pleaſure the nature of thoſe things, which the owners of them uſually call *Anſwers*, and with what dexterity this matchleſs author had fallen into the whole art and cant of them. To tranſcribe here and there three or four detached lines of leaſt weight in a diſcourſe, and by a fooliſh comment miſtake every ſyllable of the meaning, is what I have known many of a ſuperior claſs to this formidable adverſary, entitle, *An Anſwer*. This is what he hath exactly done in about thrice as many words as my whole diſcourſe; which is ſo mighty an advantage over me, that I ſhall by no means engage in ſo unequal a combat; but, as far as I can judge of my own temper, entirely diſmiſs him for the future; heartily wiſhing he had a match exactly of his own ſize to meddle with, who ſhould only have the odds of truth and honeſty, which, as I take it, would be an effectual way to ſilence him for ever. Upon this occaſion I cannot forbear a ſhort ſtory of a *fanatic farmer*, who lived in my neighbourhood, and was ſo great a diſputant in religion, that the ſervants in all the families thereabouts reported, how he had confuted the biſhop and all his clergy. I had then a footman, who was fond of reading the Bible; and I borrowed a comment for him, which he ſtudied ſo cloſe, that in a month or two I thought him a match for the *farmer*. They diſputed at ſeveral houſes with a ring of ſervants and other people always about them; where Ned explained his texts ſo full and clear to the capacity of his audience, and ſhewed the inſignificancy of his adverſary's cant to the meaneſt underſtanding, that he got the whole country of his ſide, and the farmer was cured of his itch of diſputation for ever after.

THE worſt of it is, that this ſort of outrageous party-writers I have ſpoke of above, are like a couple of make-bates, who inflame ſmall quarrels by a thouſand ſtories, and by keeping friends at a diſtance hinder them from coming to a good underſtanding; as they certainly would if they were ſuffered to meet and debate between themſelves:

ſelves: for, let any one examine a reaſonable honeſt man of either ſide upon thoſe opinions in religion and government, which both parties daily buffet each other about; he ſhall hardly find one material point in difference between them. I would be glad to aſk a queſtion about *two great men* of the late miniſtry, how they came to be *whigs?* And, by what figure of ſpeech half a dozen others, lately put into great employments, can be called *tories* I doubt whoever would ſuit the definition to the perſons, muſt make it directly contrary to what we underſtood it at the time of the revolution.

IN order to remove theſe miſapprehenſions among us, I believe, it will be neceſſary, upon occaſion, to detect the malice and falſhood of ſome popular maxims, which thoſe idiots ſcatter from the preſs twice a week, and draw an hundred abſurd conſequences from them.

FOR example; I have heard it often objected as a great piece of inſolence in the clergy, and others to ſay or hint, that the *church was in danger*, when it was voted otherwiſe in parliament ſome years ago; and the Queen herſelf, in her laſt ſpeech, did openly condemn all ſuch inſinuations. Notwithſtanding which I did then, and do ſtill, believe the church hath, ſince that vote, been in very imminent danger; and I think I might then have ſaid ſo without the leaſt offence to her Majeſty, or either of the two houſes. The Queen's words, as near as I can remember, mentioned the church being in danger from her adminiſtration: and whoever ſays or thinks that deſerves, in my opinion to be hanged for a traitor: but, that the church and ſtate may be both in danger under the beſt princes that ever reigned, and without the leaſt guilt of theirs, is ſuch a truth, as a man muſt be a great ſtranger to hiſtory and common ſenſe to doubt. The wiſeſt prince on earth may be forced by the neceſſity of his affairs, and the preſent power of an unruly faction, or deceived by the craft of ill deſigning men. One or two miniſters, moſt in his confidence may at firſt have good intentions, but grow corrupted by time, by avarice, by love, by ambition, and have fairer terms offered them to gratify their paſſions or intereſts from *one ſet of men* than another, until they are too far involved for a retreat; and ſo be forced to take *ſeven ſpirits more wicked*

wicked than themſelves. This is a very poſſible caſe; and will not *the laſt ſtate of ſuch men be worſe than the firſt?* that is to ſay, will not the public, which was ſafe at firſt, grow in danger by ſuch proceedings as theſe? And ſhall a faithful ſubject, who foreſees and trembles at the conſequences, be called *diſaffected*, becauſe he delivers his opinion, altho' the prince declares, as he juſtly may, that the danger is not owing to his adminiſtration? Or ſhall the prince himſelf be blamed, when, in ſuch a juncture, he puts his affairs into other hands with the univerſal applauſe of his people? As to the vote againſt thoſe, who ſhould affirm the church was in danger, I think it likewiſe referred to danger from, or under, the Queen's adminiſtration, (for I neither have it by me, nor can ſuddenly have recourſe to it;) but if it were otherwiſe, I know not how it can refer to any dangers, but what were paſt, or at that time preſent; or how it could affect the future, unleſs the ſenators were all *inſpired*, or at leaſt that majority, which voted it: neither do I ſee it is any crime, farther than ill manners, to diſfer in opinion from a majority of either or both houſes; and that ill manners, I muſt confeſs, I have been often guilty of for ſome years paſt, altho' I hope I never ſhall again.

ANOTHER topic of great uſe to theſe weekly inflamers is the young Pretender in France, to whom their whole party is in a high meaſure indebted for all their greatneſs, and whenever it lies in their power, they may perhaps return their acknowledgements, as out of their zeal for frequent *revolutions*, they were ready to do to his ſuppoſed father; which is a piece of ſecret hiſtory, that I hope will one day ſee the light; and I am ſure it ſhall, if ever I am maſter of it, without regarding whoſe ears may tingle. But at preſent the word *Pretender* is a term of art in *their* profeſſion. A ſecretary of ſtate cannot *deſire leave to reſign*, but the Pretender is at bottom: the Queen cannot diſſolve a parliament, but it is a plot to dethrone herſelf and bring in the Pretender; half a ſcore ſtock-jobbers are playing the knave in Exchange-Alley, and there goes the Pretender with a *ſcrange*. One would be apt to think, they bawl out the Pretender ſo often to take off the terror; or tell ſo many lyes about

him to ſlacken our caution; that when he is really coming, *by their connivance*, we may not believe them; as the boy ſerved the ſhepherds about the coming of the wolf: or perhaps they ſcar us with the Pretender, becauſe they think we may be like ſome diſeaſes, that come with a fright. Do they not believe, that the Queen's preſent miniſtry love her Majeſty, at leaſt as well as ſome others loved the church? And why is it not as great a mark of diſaffection now, to ſay the *Queen is in danger*, as it was ſome months ago to affirm the ſame of the *church*? Suppoſe it be a falſe opinion, that the Queen's right is *hereditary* and *indefeaſible*; yet how is it poſſible, that thoſe who hold and believe ſuch a doctrine can be in the Pretender's intereſt? His title is weakened by every argument that ſtrengthens hers: it is as plain as the words of an act of parliament can make it, that her preſent Majeſty is heir to the ſurvivor of the late King and Queen her ſiſter: is not that *hereditary right*? What need we explain it any further? I have known an *article of faith* expounded in much looſer and more general terms, and that by an author, whoſe opinions are very much followed by a certain party *. Suppoſe we go further, and examine the word *indefeaſible*, with which ſome writers of late have made themſelves ſo merry: I confeſs, it is hard to conceive how any law, which the ſupreme power makes, may not by the ſame power be repealed; ſo that I ſhall not determine, whether the Queen's right be *indefeaſible*, or no. But this I will maintain, that whoever affirms it ſo, is not guilty of a crime; for in that ſettlement of the crown after the revolution, where her preſent Majeſty is in remainder, there are (as near as I can remember) theſe remarkable words, *to which we bind ourſelves and our poſterity for ever*. Lawyers may explain this, or call them words of form as they pleaſe; and reaſoners may argue, that ſuch an obligation is againſt the very nature of government; but a plain reader, who takes the words in their natural meaning, may be excuſed in thinking a right ſo confirmed is *indefeaſible*; and if there be an abſurdity in ſuch an opinion, he is not to anſwer for it.

P. S. WHEN

* Dr Burnet, Biſhop of Sarum.

P. S. When this paper was going to the preſs, the printer brought me two more *Obſervators*, wholly taken up in my *Examiner* upon lying, which I was at the pains to read; and they are juſt ſuch an anſwer, as the two others I have mentioned. This is all I have to ſay on that matter.

N° 16. Thurſday, November 23. 1710.

Qui ſunt boni cives? Qui belli, qui domi de patria bene merentes, niſi qui patriæ beneficia meminerunt?

I WILL employ this preſent paper upon a ſubject which of late hath very much affected me, which I have conſidered with a good deal of application, and made ſeveral enquiries about among thoſe perſons, who, I thought, were beſt able to inform me; and if I deliver my ſentiments with ſome freedom, I hope it will be forgiven, while I accompany it with that tenderneſs, which ſo nice a point requires.

I ſaid in a former paper (Number 13.) that one ſpecious objection to the late removals at court was the fear of giving uneaſineſs to a General, who hath been long ſucceſsful abroad; and accordingly, the common clamour of tongues and pens for ſome months paſt hath run againſt the baſeneſs, the inconſtancy, and ingratitude of the whole kingdom to the Duke of Marlborough, in return of the moſt eminent ſervices, that ever were performed by a ſubject to his country; not to be equalled in hiſtory: and then, to be ſure, ſome bitter ſtroke of detraction againſt Alexander and Cæſar, who never did us the leaſt injury. Beſides, the people, who read Plutarch, come upon us with parallels drawn from the Greeks and Romans, who ungratefully dealt with I know not how many of their moſt deſerving generals; while the profounder politicians have ſeen pamphlets, where Tacitus and Machiavel have been quoted to ſhew the danger of too reſplendent a merit. If a ſtranger ſhould hear theſe furious out-cries of ingratitude againſt our General, without knowing

knowing the particulars, he would be apt to enquire where was his tomb, or whether he were allowed Christian burial? not doubting but we had put him to some ignominious death. Or hath he been tried for his life, and very narrowly escaped; hath he been accused of high crimes and misdemeanors; hath the prince seized on his estate, and left him to starve; hath he been hooted at, as he passed the streets, by an ungrateful rabble; have neither honours, offices, nor grants been conferred on him or his family; have not he and they been barbarously stript of them all; have not he and his forces been ill paid abroad; and doth not the prince by a scanty limited commission, hinder him from pursuing his own methods in the conduct of the war; hath he no power at all of disposing of commissions as he pleaseth; is he not severely used by the ministry or parliament, who yearly call him to a strict account; hath the senate ever thanked him for good success, and have they not always publicly censured him for the least miscarriage?—Will the accusers of the nation join issue upon any of these particulars: or tell us in what point our damnable sin of ingratitude lies?—Why, it is plain and clear; for while he is commanding abroad, the Queen dissolves her parliament, and changes her ministry at home; in which universal calamity no less than two persons allied by marriage to the General have lost their places. Whence came this wonderful sympathy between the civil and military powers? Will the troops in Flanders refuse to fight, unless they can have *their own* Lord Keeper, *their own* Lord President of the council, *their own* Chief Governor of Ireland, and *their own* parliament? In a kingdom where the people are free how came they to be so fond of having their counsels under the influence of their army, or those that lead it? who, in all well instituted states, had no commerce with the civil power, farther than to receive their orders, and obey them without reserve.

When a General is not so popular, either in his army or at home, as one might expect from a long course of successes; it may perhaps be ascribed to his wisdom, or perhaps to his complexion. The possession of some one quality, or a defect in some other, will extremely damp the people's favour, as well as the love of the soldiers. Besides,

Beſides, this is not an age to produce favourites of the people, while we live under a Queen, who engroſſeth all our love and all our veneration; and where the only way for a great general or miniſter to acquire any degree of ſubordinate affection from the public muſt be by all marks of the moſt entire ſubmiſſion and reſpect to her ſacred perſon and commands; otherwiſe no pretence of great ſervices, either in the field or the cabinet, will be able to ſcreen them from univerſal hatred.

BUT the late miniſtry was cloſely joined to the General by friendſhip, intereſt, alliance, inclination, and opinion; which cannot be affirmed of the preſent: and the ingratitude of the nation lieth in the people's joining as one man to wiſh, that ſuch a miniſtry ſhould be changed. Is it not at the ſame time notorious to the whole kingdom, that nothing but a tender regard to the General was able to preſerve that miniſtry ſo long, until neither God nor man could ſuffer their continuance? Yet in the higheſt ferment of things we heard few or no reflections upon this great commander; but all ſeemed unanimous in wiſhing, he might ſtill be at the head of the confederate forces; only at the ſame time, in caſe he were reſolved to reſign, they choſe rather to turn their thoughts ſomewhere elſe than throw up all in deſpair. And this I cannot but add, in defence of the people with regard to the perſon we are ſpeaking of; that in the high ſtation he hath been for many years paſt, his *real defects* (as nothing human is without them) have in a detracting age been very ſparingly mentioned either in libels or converſation, and all his *ſucceſſes* very freely and univerſally applauded.

THERE is an active and a paſſive ingratitude: applying both to this occaſion, we may ſay, the firſt is, when a Prince or people returns good ſervices with cruelty or ill uſage; the other is, when good ſervices are not at all, or very meanly rewarded. We have already ſpoken of the former; let us therefore, in the ſecond place, examine, how the ſervices of our General have been rewarded; and whether upon that article either Prince or people have been guilty of ingratitude?

THOSE are the moſt valuable rewards, which are given to us from the certain knowledge of the donor, that they *fit our temper beſt*: I ſhall therefore ſay nothing of the

title

title of *Duke*, or the *Garter*, which the Queen beſtowed upon the General in the beginning of her reign; but I ſhall come to *more ſubſtantial inſtances*, and mention nothing, which hath not been given in the face of the world. The lands of Woodſtock may, I believe, be reckoned worth 40,000 l. on the building of Blenheim caſtle 200,000 l. have been already expended, altho' it be not yet near finiſhed; the grant of 5000 l. *per annum* on the poſt-office is richly worth 100,000 l. his principality in Germany may be computed at 30,000 l. pictures, jewels, and other gifts from foreign princes, 60,000 l. the grant at the Pall-mall, the rangerſhip, *&c.* for want of more certain knowledge, may be called 10,000 l. his own and his Ducheſs's employments at five years value, reckoning only the known and avowed ſalaries, are very low rated at 100,000 l. Here is a good deal above half a million of money; and, I dare ſay, thoſe who are loudeſt with the clamour of ingratitude, will readily own, that all this is but a trifle, in compariſon of what is *untold*.

THE reaſon of my ſtating this account is only to convince the world, that we are not quite ſo ungrateful either as the Greeks or the Romans; and in order to adjuſt this matter with all fairneſs, I ſhall confine myſelf to the latter, who were much the more generous of the two. A victorious general of Rome, in the height of that empire, having *entirely ſubdued his enemies*, was rewarded with the larger triumph, and perhaps a ſtatue in the forum, a bull for a ſacrifice, an embroidered garment to appear in, a crown of laurel, a monumental trophy with inſcriptions, ſometimes five hundred or a thouſand copper coins were ſtruck on occaſion of the victory, which, doing honour to the General, we will place to his account; and laſtly, ſometimes, altho' not very frequently, a triumphal arch. Theſe are all the rewards, that I can call to mind, which a victorious General received after his return from the moſt glorious expedition; having conquered ſome great kingdom, brought the King himſelf, his family, and nobles, to adorn the triumph in chains; and made the kingdom either a Roman province, or at beſt a poor depending ſtate in humble alliance to that empire. Now, of all theſe rewards I find but two, which

which were of real profit to the General; the *laurel crown*, made and ſent him at the charge of the public, and the *embroidered garment*; but I cannot find whether this laſt was paid for by the Senate or the General: however we will take the more favourable opinion; and in all the reſt admit the whole expence, as if it were ready money in the General's pocket. Now, according to theſe computations on both ſides, we will draw up two fair accounts; the one of Roman gratitude, and the other of Britiſh ingratitude, and ſet them together in balance.

A bill of ROMAN *gratitude.*

Imprim.	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
For frankincenſe and earthen pots to burn it in	4	10	0
A bull for ſacrifice	8	0	1
An embroidered garment.	50	0	0
A crown of laurel.	0	0	2
A ſtatue	100	0	0
A trophy	80	0	0
A thouſand copper medals, value half pence a piece	2	1	8
A trrumphal arch	500	0	0
A triumphal car, valued as a modern coach	100	0	0
Caſual charges at the triumph	150	0.	0
	994	11	10

A bill of BRITISH *gratitude.*

Imprim.	*l.*
Woodſtock	4cc
Blenheim	200c
Poſt office grant	108c
Mildenheim	30c
Pictures, jewels, *&c.*	60c
Pall-mall grant, *&c,*	10c
Employments	10cc
	540c

THIS is an account of the viſible profits on both ſid and if the Roman general had any *private perquiſi* they may be eaſily diſcounted, and by more proba computations; and differ yet more upon the balance, we conſider, that all the gold and ſilver for *ſafegua* and *contributions*, alſo all *valuable prizes* taken in

war, were openly expoſed in the triumph, and then lodged in the capitol for the public ſervice.

So that, upon the whole, we are not yet quite ſo bad at *moſt* as the Romans were at *leaſt*. And I doubt thoſe, who raiſe this hideous cry of ingratitude, may be mightily miſtaken in the conſequence they propoſe from ſuch complaints. I remember a ſaying of Seneca, *Minus ingratos invenimus, quam fingimus*, we find many ungrateful perſons in the world, but we make more by ſetting too high a rate upon our pretenſions and undervaluing the rewards we receive. When unreaſonable bills are brought in, they ought to be taxed, or cut off in the middle. Where there have been long accounts between two perſons, I have known one of them perpetually making large demands and preſſing for payments; who, when the accounts were caſt up on both ſides, was found to be debtor for ſome hundreds. I am thinking, if a proclamation were iſſued out for every man to ſend in his *bill of merits*, and the loweſt price he ſet them at, what a pretty ſum it would amount to, and how many ſuch iſlands as this muſt be ſold to pay them. I form my judgment from the practice of thoſe, who ſometimes happen to *pay themſelves*, and, I dare affirm, would not be ſo unjuſt to take a farthing more, than they think is due to their deſerts. I will inſtance only in one article: a Lady * of my acquaintance appropriated twenty-ſix pounds a year out of her allowance for certain uſes, which her woman received †, and was to pay to the Lady or her

* Suppoſed to be her late Majeſty Q. Anne.

† The matter was this. At the Queen's acceſſion to the government, ſhe uſed to lament to me, that the crown being impoveriſhed by former grants, ſhe wanted the power her predeceſſors had enjoyed to reward faithful ſervants; and ſhe deſired me to take out of the privy purſe 2000l. a year, in order to purchaſe for my children, and as the offices I enjoyed by her favour brought me in more than I wanted—I conſtantly declined it, till the time—ſhe was pleaſed to diſmiſs me from her ſervice. Then indeed——I ſent the Queen one of her own letters, in which ſhe had preſſed me to take the 2000l. a year; and I wrote at the ſame time to aſk her Majeſty, whether ſhe would allow

order, as it was called for. But after eight years it appeared upon the ſtricteſt calculation, that the woman had paid but four pounds a year, and ſunk two and twenty for her own pocket. It is but ſuppoſing, inſtead of twenty-ſix pounds, twenty-ſix thouſand; and by that you may judge, what the pretenſions of *modern merit* are, where it happens to be its own paymaſter.

No 17. Thurſday, November 30. 1710.

Quas res luxuries in flagitiis, avaritia in rapinis, ſuperbia in contumeliis effecere potuiſſet; eas omnes ſeſe, hoc uno prætore per triennium, pertuliſſe aiebant.

WHEN I firſt undertook this paper, I was reſolved to concern myſelf only with *things*, and not with *perſons*. Whether I have kept or broken this reſolution, I cannot recollect; and I will not be at the pains to examine, but leave the matter to thoſe little antagoniſts, who may want a topic for criticiſm. Thus much I have diſcovered, that it is in writing as in building; where, after all our ſchemes and calculations, we are mightily deceived in our accounts, and often forced to make uſe of any materials we can find, that the work may be kept a going. Beſides, to ſpeak my opinion, the *things* I have occaſion to mention are ſo cloſely linked to *perſons*, that nothing but *time* (the father of *oblivion*) can ſeparate them. Let me put a parallel caſe: ſuppoſe I ſhould complain, that laſt week my coach was within an inch of overturning in a ſmooth even way, and drawn by very gentle horſes; to be ſure all my friends would immediately lay the fault upon John, becauſe he knew he then *preſided* in my coach-box. Again, ſuppoſe I ſhould diſcover ſome uneaſineſs to find myſelf, I knew not how, over

allow me to charge in the privy-purſe accounts, which I was to ſend her, that yearly ſum *from the time of the offer*, amounting to 18,000l. Her Majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer, I might charge it. This therefore I did. *Account of the conduct of the Dowager Dutcheſs of Marlborough*, p. 294, 295. *Hawkeſ.*

over head and ears in debt, altho' I were ſure my tenants paid their rents very well, and that I never ſpent half my income; they would certainly adviſe me to turn off Mr Oldfox * my *receiver*, and take another. If, as a Juſtice of Peace, I ſhould tell a friend, that my *warrants* and *mittimuſes* were never drawn up as I would have them; that I had the misfortune to ſend an honeſt man to goal, and diſmiſs a knave; he would bid me no longer truſt Charles and Harry †, my two clerks, whom he knew to be ignorant, wilful, aſſuming, and ill inclined fellows. If I ſhould add, that my tenants made me very uneaſy with their ſquabbles and broils among themſelves; he would counſel me to cathier Will Bigamy ‡, the *ſeneſchal* of my manor. And laſtly, if my neighbour and I happened to have a miſunderſtanding about the delivery of a meſſage, what could I do leſs than ſtrip and diſcard the *blundering* or *malicious* raſcal, who carried it?

IT is the ſame thing in the conduct of public affairs, where they have been managed with raſhneſs or wilfulneſs, corruption, ignorance, or injuſtice. Barely to relate the facts, at leaſt while they are freſh in memory, will as much reflect upon the *perſons* concerned, as if we had told their names at length.

I have therefore ſince thought of another expedient, frequently practiſed with great ſafety and ſucceſs by ſatyrical writers; which is that of looking into hiſtory for ſome character bearing a reſemblance to the perſon, we would deſcribe: and with the abſolute power of altering, adding or ſuppreſſing what circumſtances we pleaſe, I conceive we muſt have very bad luck, or very little ſkill, to fail. However, ſome days ago in a coffee-houſe looking into one of the politic weekly papers, I found the writer had fallen into this ſcheme; and I happened to light on that part, where he was deſcribing a perſon, who from ſmall beginnings grew (as I remember) to be conſtable of France, and had a very *haughty imperious wife*. I took the author for a friend to our *faction*, (for ſo, with great propriety of ſpeech, they call the Queen

* Lord Godolphin.

† Earl of Sunderland, and Henry Boyle, Eſq; were at this time Secretaries of State.

‡ Lord C——r C——r.

and miniſtry, almoſt the whole clergy, and nine parts in ten of the kingdom;) and I ſaid to a gentleman near me, that altho' I knew well enough what perſons the author meant, yet there were ſeveral particulars in the *huſband*'s character, which I could not reconcile; for that of the *Lady*, it was juſt and adequate enough. But it ſeems I miſtook the whole matter, and applied all I had read to a couple of perſons, who were not at that time in the writer's thoughts.

Now, to avoid ſuch a misfortune as this, I have been for ſome time conſulting Livy and Tacitus to find out the character of a *Princeps ſenatus*, a *Prætor urbanus*, a *Quæſtor ærarius*, a *Cæſari ab epiſtolis*, and a *Proconſul*: but among the worſt of them I cannot diſcover one, from whom to draw a parallel without doing injury to a Roman memory: ſo that I am compelled to have recourſe to Tully. But this author, relating facts only as an orator I thought it would be beſt to obſerve his method, and make an extract from ſix harangues of his againſt Verres, only ſtill preſerving the form of an oration. I remember a younger brother of mine, who deceaſed about two months ago, preſented the world with a ſpeech of Alcibiades againſt an Athenian brewer. Now, I am told for certain that in thoſe days there was no ale in Athens; therefore that ſpeech, or at leaſt a great part of it, muſt needs be ſpurious. The difference between my brother and me is this; he makes Alcibiades ſay a great deal more than he really did, and I make Cicero ſay a great deal leſs. This Verres * had been the Roman governor of Sicily for three years; and, on his return from his government, the Sicilians entreated Cicero to impeach him in the ſenate; which he accordingly did in ſeveral orations, from whence I have faithfully tranſlated and abſtracted that which follows:

"MY LORDS,

"A pernicious opinion hath for ſome time prevailed, "not only at Rome, but among our neighbouring na- "tions, that a man who hath money enough, altho' "he

* Earl of Wharton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

" he be ever ſo guilty, cannot be condemned in this
" place. But, however induſtriouſly this opinion be
" ſpread to caſt an odium on the ſenate, we have brought
" before your Lordſhips Caius Verres, a perſon for his
" life and actions already condemned by all men: but;
" as he hopes and gives out, by the influence of his
" wealth to be here abſolved; in condemning this man
" you have an opportunity of belying that general ſcan-
" dal, of redeeming the credit loſt by former judgments,
" and recovering the love of the Roman people, as well
" as of our neighbours. I have brought here a man be-
" fore you, my Lords, who is a robber of the public trea-
" ſure, an overturner of law and juſtice, and the diſ-
" g ace as well as deſtruction of the Sicilian province;
" of whom if you ſhall determine with equity and due
" ſeverity, your authority will remain entire, and upon
" ſuch an eſtabliſhment as it ought to be: but if his
" great riches will be able to force their way thro' that
" religious reverence and truth, which become ſo awful
" an aſſembly; I ſhall however obtain thus much, that
" the defect will be laid where it ought; and that it ſhall
" not be objected, that the criminal was not produced,
" or that there wanted an orator to accuſe him. This
" man, my Lords, hath publicly ſaid, that thoſe ought
" to be afraid of accuſations, who have only robbed e-
" nough for their own ſupport and maintenance; but
" that he hath plundered ſufficient to bribe numbers;
" and that nothing is ſo high or ſo holy, which money
" cannot corrupt. Take that ſupport from him, and
" he can have no other left: for what eloquence will be
" able to defend a man, whoſe life hath been tainted
" with ſo many ſcandalous vices, and who hath been ſo
" long condemned by the univerſal opinion of the world?
" To paſs over the foul ſtains and ignominy of his youth,
" his corrupt management in all employments he hath
" borne, his treachery and irreligion, his injuſtice and
" oppreſſion; he hath left of late ſuch monuments of
" his villanies in Sicily, made ſuch havock and confuſion
" there during his government, that the province can-
" not by any means be reſtored to its former ſtate, and
" hardly recover itſelf at all under many years, and by

" a long ſucceſſion of good governors. While this man " governed in that iſland, the Sicilians had neither the " benefit of our laws nor their own, nor even of com- " mon right. In Sicily no man now poſſeſſes more, than " what the governor's luſt and avarice have overlooked, " or what he was forced to neglect out of mere weari- " neſs and ſatiety of oppreſſion. Every thing, where " he preſided, was determined by his arbitrary will; and " the beſt ſubjects he treated as enemies To recount " his abominable debaucheries would offend any modeſt " ear, ſince ſo many could not preſerve their daughters " and wives from his luſt. I believe there is no man, " who ever heard his name, that cannot relate his enor- " mities. We bring before you in judgment, my Lords, " a public robber. an adulterer. a DEFILER OF ALTARS*, " an enemy of religion, and of all that is ſacred. In " Sicily he ſold all employments of judicature, magi- " ſtracy and truſt, places in the council, and the *prieſt-* " *hood* itſelf, to the higheſt bidder; and hath plundered " that iſland of forty millions of ſeſterces. And here " I cannot but obſerve to your Lordſhips, in what man- " ner Verres paſſed the day: the morning was ſpent in " taking bribes and ſelling employments; the reſt of it " in drukenneſs and luſt. His diſcourſe at table was " ſcandalouſly unbecoming the dignity of his ſtation; " noiſe, brutality, and obſceneneſs. One particular I " cannot omit; that in the high character of governor " of Sicily, upon a ſolemn day, a day ſet apart for public " prayer for the ſafety of the commonwealth, he ſtole at " evening in a chair to a married woman of infamous " character, againſt all decency and prudence, as well " as againſt all laws both human and divine. Didſt thou " think, O Verres! the government of Sicily was gi- " ven thee with ſo large a commiſſion, only, by the " power of that, to break all the bars of law, modeſty, " and duty; to ſuppoſe all mens fortunes thine, and " leave no houſe free from thy rapine and luſt?" *&c.*

THIS

* The ſtory of the Lord Wharton is true; who, with ſome other wretches, went into a pulpit, and defiled it in the moſt filthy manner.

THIS extract, to deal ingenuously, hath coſt me more pains, than I think it is worth; having only ſerved to convince me, that modern corruptions are not be paralleled by antient examples, without having recourſe to poetry or fable. For inſtance, I never read in ſtory of a law enacted to take away the force of all laws whatſoever; by which a man may ſafely commit, upon the laſt of June, what he would infallibly be hanged for if he committed on the firſt of July; by which the greateſt criminals may eſcape, provided they continue long enough in power to antiquate their crimes, and by ſhifting them a while can deceive the legiſlature into an *amneſty*, of which the enactors do not at that time foreſee the conſequence. A cautious merchant will be apt to ſuſpect, when he finds a man who has the repute of a cunning dealer, and with whom he hath old accounts, urging for a general releaſe. When I reflect on this proceeding, I am not ſurpriſed that thoſe, who contrived a parliamentary *ſponge* for their *crimes*, are now afraid of a new revolution *ſponge* for their *money*; and if it were poſſible to contrive a *ſponge*, that could only affect thoſe who had need of the other, perhaps it would not be ill employed.

N° 18. Thurſday, December 9. 1710.

Quippe ubi fas verſum atque nefas; tot bella per orbem;
Tam multæ ſcelerum facies———

I AM often violently tempted to let the world freely know, who the author of this paper is; to tell them my name and titles at length; which would prevent abundance of inconſiſtent criticiſms I daily hear upon it. Thoſe who are enemies to the notions and opinions I would advance, are ſometimes apt to quarrel with the *Examiner* as defective in point of wit, and ſometimes of truth. At other times they are ſo generous and candid to allow, it is written by a club, and that very great *hands* have *finger* in it. As for thoſe who only appear its adverſaries in print, they give me but very little pa
The paper I hold, lies at my mercy, and I can gove

as I pleaſe; therefore, when I begin to find the wit too bright, the learning too deep, and the ſatire too keen for me to deal with, (a very frequent caſe, no doubt, where a man is conſtantly attacked by ſuch ſhrewd adverſaries) I peaceably fold it up, or fling it aſide, and read no more. It would be happy for me to have the ſame power over people's tongues, and not be forced to hear my own work railed at, and commended fifty times a day; affecting all the while a countenance wholly unconcerned, and joining out of policy or good manners with the judgment of both parties: this, I confeſs, is too great a hardſhip for ſo baſhful and unexperienced a writer.

BUT, alas, I lie under another diſcouragement of much more weight. I was very unfortunate in the choice of my party, when I ſet up to be a writer. Where is the merit, or what opportunity to diſcover our wit, our courage, or our learning, in drawing our pens for the defence of a cauſe, which the Queen and both houſes of parliament, and nine parts in ten of the kingdom, have ſo unanimouſly embraced? I am cruelly afraid, we politic authors muſt begin to leſſen our expences, and lie for the future at the mercy of our printers. All hopes are now gone of writing ourſelves into places or penſions. A certain ſtarveling author, who *worked* under the late adminiſtration, told me with a heavy heart above a month ago, that he, and ſome others of his brethren, had ſecretly offered their ſervice, dog-cheap, to the preſent miniſtry, but were all refuſed; and are now maintained by contribution, like *Jacobites* or *fanatics*. I have been of late employed, out of perfect commiſeration, in doing them good offices; for whereas ſome were of opinion, that theſe hungry zealots ſhould not be ſuffered any longer in their malapert way to ſnarl at the preſent courſe of public proceedings; and whereas others propoſed, that they ſhould be limited to a certain number, and permitted to write for their *maſters*, in the ſame manner as counſel are aſſigned for other criminals, that is, to ſay all they can in defence of their client, but not reflect upon the court: humbly gave my advice, that they ſhould be ſuffered to write on, as they uſed to do; which I did purely out of regard to their perſons; for I hoped it would keep them out of harm's-way, and prevent them

from

from falling into evil courſes; which altho' of little conſequence to the public, would certainly be *fatal to themſelves*. If I have room at the bottom of this paper, I will tranſcribe a petition to the preſent miniſtry, ſent me by one of theſe authors in behalf of himſelf and fourſcore of his brethren.

FOR my own part, notwithſtanding the little encouragement to be hoped for at this time from the men in power, I ſhall continue my paper, till either the world or myſelf grow weary of it: the latter is eaſily determined; and for the former, I ſhall not leave it to the partiality of either party, but to the infallible judgment of my printer. One principal end I deſigned by it was to undeceive thoſe well-meaning people, who have been drawn unawares into a wrong ſenſe of things either by the common prejudices of education and company, the great perſonal qualities of ſome party leaders, or the foul miſrepreſentations that were conſtantly made of all, who durſt differ from them in the ſmalleſt article. I have known ſuch men ſtruck with the thoughts of ſome late changes, which, as they pretend to think, were made without any reaſon viſible to the world. In anſwer to this, it is not ſufficient to alledge, what nobody doubts, that a good and wiſe Prince may be allowed to change his miniſters without giving a reaſon to his ſubjects; becauſe it is probable, that he will not make ſuch a change without very important reaſons; and a good ſubject ought to ſuppoſe, that in ſuch a caſe there are ſuch reaſons, altho' he be not appriſed of them; otherwiſe he muſt inwardly tax his Prince of capriciouſneſs, inconſtancy, or ill deſign. Such reaſons indeed may not be obvious to perſons prejudiced, or at a great diſtance, or ſhort thinkers; and therefore if they be no ſecrets of ſtate, nor any ill conſequences to be apprehended from their publication, it is no uncommendable work in any private hand to lay them open for the ſatisfaction of all men. And, if what I have already ſaid, or ſhall hereafter ſay, of this kind, be thought to reflect upon *perſons*, altho' none have been named. I know not how it can poſſibly be avoided. The Queen in her ſpeech mentions *with great concern*, that "the navy and other "offices are burdened with heavy debts; and deſires, "that the like may be prevented for the time to come."

And,

And, if it be *now* poſſible to prevent the continuance of an evil, that hath been ſo long growing upon us, and is arrived to ſuch a height; ſurely thoſe corruptions and miſmanagements muſt have been great, which firſt introduced them, before our taxes were eaten up by annuities.

IF I were able to rip up and diſcover, in all their colours, only about eight or nine thouſand of the moſt ſcandalous abuſes, that have been committed in all parts of public management for twenty years paſt by a certain ſett of men and their inſtruments, I ſhould reckon it ſome ſervice to my country and poſterity. But to ſay the truth, I ſhould be glad the authors names were conveyed to future times along with their actions. For altho' the preſent age may underſtand well enough the little hints we give, the parallels we draw, and the characters we deſcribe; yet all this will be loſt to the next. However, if theſe papers, *reduced into a more durable form*, ſhould happen to live till our grand children be men, I hope they may have curioſity enough to conſult annals and compare dates in order to find out, what names were then intruſted with the conduct of affairs, in the conſequences whereof themſelves will ſo deeply ſhare; like a heavy debt in a private family, which often lies an incumbrance upon an eſtate for three generations.

BUT leaving the care of informing poſterity to better pens, I ſhall, with due regard to truth diſcretion, and the ſafety of my perſon from the men of the *new-fangled moderation*, continue to take all proper opportunities of letting the miſled part of the people ſee how groſly they have been abuſed, and in what particulars. I ſhall alſo endeavour to convince them, that the preſent courſe we are in is the moſt probable means, with the bleſſing of God, to extricate ourſelves out of all our difficulties.

AMONG thoſe, who are pleaſed to write or talk againſt this paper, I have obſerved a ſtrange manner of reaſoning, which I ſhould be glad to hear them explain themſelves upon. They make no ceremony of exclaiming upon all occaſions againſt a change of miniſtry in ſo critical and dangerous a conjuncture. What ſhall we, who heartily approve and join in thoſe proceedings, ſay in defence of them? We own the juncture of affairs to be as they deſcribe

deſcribe: we are puſhed for an anſwer; and are forced at laſt freely to confeſs, that the corruptions and abuſes in every branch of the adminiſtration were ſo numerous and intolerable, that all things muſt have ended in ruin without ſome ſpeedy reformation. This I have already aſſerted in a former paper; and the replies I have read, or heard, have been in plain terms to affirm the direct contrary; and not only to defend and celebrate the late perſons and proceedings, but to threaten me with law and vengeance for caſting reflections on ſo many great and honourable men, whoſe 'birth, virtue, and abilities, whoſe 'morals and religion, whoſe love of their country, and its 'conſtitution in church and ſtate,' were ſo univerſally allowed; and all this ſet off with odious compariſons, reflecting on the preſent choice: is not this in plain and direct terms to tell all the world, that the Queen hath, in a moſt dangerous criſis, turned out a whole ſett of the beſt miniſters, that ever ſerved a prince, without any manner of reaſon, but her royal pleaſure, and brought in others of a character directly contrary? And how ſo vile an opinion as this can conſiſt with the leaſt pretence to loyalty or good manners, let the world determine.

I confeſs myſelf ſo little a refiner in politics as not to be able to diſcover what other motive, beſides obedience to the Queen, a ſenſe of public danger, and a true love of their country, joined with invincible courage, could ſpirit up thoſe great men, who have now under her Majeſty's authority undertaken the direction of affairs. What can they expect but the utmoſt efforts of malice, from a ſet of enraged domeſtic adverſaries perpetually watching over their conduct, croſſing all their deſigns, and uſing every art to foment diviſions among them, in order to join with the weakeſt, upon any rupture? The difficulties they muſt encounter are nine times more and greater than ever; and the proſpects of intereſt, after the *reaping* and *gleanings* of ſo many years, nine times leſs. Every misfortune at home or abroad altho' the neceſſary conſequence of former counſels, will be imputed to them; and all the good ſucceſs given to the merit of former ſchemes. A ſharper hath held your cards all the evening, played booty, and loſt your money; and

things are almoſt deſperate, you employ an honeſt gentleman to retrieve your loſſes.

I would aſk, whether the Queen's ſpeech doth not contain her intentions in every particular relating to the public, that a good ſubject, a Briton, and a Proteſtant can poſſibly have at heart? 'to carry on the war in all its 'parts, particularly in Spain, with the utmoſt vigour in 'order to procure a ſafe and honourable peace for us 'and our allies; to find ſome ways of paying the debts 'of the navy; to ſupport and encourage the church of 'England; to preſerve the Britiſh conſtitution according 'to the union; to maintain the indulgence by law allowed to ſcrupulous conſciences; and to employ none 'but ſuch, as are for the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the 'houſe of Hanover.' It is known enough, that ſpeeches on theſe occaſions are ever digeſted by the advice of thoſe, who are in the chief confidence; and conſequently, that theſe are the ſentiments of her Majeſty's miniſters, as well as her own; and we ſee the two houſes have unanimouſly agreed with her in every article. When the leaſt counterpaces are made to any of theſe reſolutions, it will then be time enough for our malecontents to bawl out *popery*, *perſecution*, *arbitrary power*, and the *Pretender*. In the mean while, it is a little hard to think, that this iſland can hold but ſix men of honeſty and ability enough to ſerve their Prince and country; or that our ſafety ſhould depend upon their credit, any more than it would upon the breath in their noſtrils. Why ſhould not a *revolution* in the miniſtry be ſometimes neceſſary, as well as a *revolution* in the crown? It is to be preſumed, the former is at leaſt as lawful in itſelf, and perhaps the experiment not quite ſo dangerous. The *revolution* of the *ſun* about the *earth* was formerly thought a neceſſary expedient to ſolve appearances, altho' it left many difficulties unanſwered; until philoſphers contrived a better, wich is that of the *earth's revolution* about the *ſun*. This is found upon experience to ſave much time and labour, to correct many irregular motions, and is better ſuited to the reſpect due from a *planet* to a *fixed ſtar*.

No. 19. Thurſday, December 14. 1710.

Sunt quibus in ſatyra videar nimis acer, et ultra
Legem tendere opus: ſine nervis altera quicquid
Compoſui pars eſſe putat. ———

WHEN the printer came laſt week for his copy, he brought along with him a bundle of thoſe papers, which, in the phraſe of *whig-coffee-houſes*, have *ſnuffed off the Examiner*; moſt of which I had never ſeen or heard of before. I remember ſome time ago in one of the *Tatler*, to have read a letter, wherein ſeveral reaſons are aſſigned for the preſent corruption and degeneracy of our taſte; but I think the writer hath omitted the principal one, which I take to be the prejudice of parties. Neither can I excuſe either ſide of this infirmity: I have heard the arranteſt drivellers *pro* and *con* commended for their ſhrewdneſs, even by men of tolerable judgment; and the beſt performances exploded as nonſenſe and ſtupidity. This indeed may partly be imputed to policy and prudence; but it is chiefly owing to that blindneſs, which prejudice and paſſions caſt over the underſtanding: I mention this becauſe I think it properly within my province in quality of *Examiner*. And, having granted more than is uſual for an enemy to do, I muſt now take leave to ſay, that ſo weak a *cauſe*, and ſo ruined a *faction*, were never provided with pens more reſembling their condition, or leſs ſuited to their occaſions.

Non tali auxilio, nec defenſoribus iſtis,
Tempus eget ———

THIS is the more to be wondered at, when we conſider, they have the full liberty of the preſs that they have no other way left to recover themſelves; and that they want not men of excellent parts to ſet their arguments in the beſt light they will bear. Now, if two men would argue on both ſides with fairneſs, good ſenſe, and good manners, it would be no ill entertainment to the town, and perhaps be the moſt effectual means to reconcile

But I am apt to think, that men of great genius are hardly brought to proſtitute their pens in a very odious cauſe; which beſides is more properly undertaken by noiſe and impudence, by groſs railing and ſcurrility, by calumny and lying, and by little trifling cavils and carpings in the wrong place, which thoſe *whifflers* uſe for arguments and anſwers.

I was well enough pleaſed with a ſtory of one of theſe anſwerers, who in a paper laſt week found many faults with a late calculation of mine. Being, it ſeems, more deeply learned than his fellows, he was reſolved to begin his anſwer with a Latin verſe, as well as other folks. His buſineſs was to look out for ſomething againſt an *Examiner*, that would pretend to *tax* accounts; and turning over Virgil he had the luck to find theſe words,

——————*fugiant examina taxos.*

So down they went, and out they would have come, if one of his unlucky *prompters* had not hindered it.

I here declare, once for all, that if theſe people will not be quiet, I ſhall take the bread out of their mouths, and anſwer the *Examiner* myſelf; which I proteſt I have never yet done, altho' I have been often charged with it; neither have thoſe anſwers been written or publiſhed with my privity, as malicious people are pleaſed to give out; nor do I believe the common *whiggiſh* report, that the authors are hired by the miniſtry to give my paper a value.

But the friends of this paper have given me more uneaſineſs with their impatience, than its enemies by their anſwers. I heard myſelf cenſured laſt week by ſome of the former for promiſing to diſcover the corruptions of the late adminiſtration, but never performing any thing. The latter, on the other ſide, are thundering out their *anathemas* againſt me for diſcovering ſo many. I am at a loſs how to decide between theſe contraries, and ſhall therefore proceed after my own way, as I have hitherto done; my deſign being of more importance, than that of writing only to gratify the ſpleen of one ſide, or provoke that of the other, altho' it may occaſionally have both effects.

I ſhall therefore go on to relate ſome facts,

my humble opinion, were no hindrance to the change of the ministry.

THE first I shall mention, was that of introducing certain new phrases into the court style, which had been very seldom, or never, made use of in former times. They usually run in the following terms: 'Madam, I cannot 'serve you while such a one is in employment. I de'sire, humbly, to resign my commission, if Mr—— con'tinues Secretary of State. I cannot answer that the city 'will lend money, unless my L—d—— be President of 'the council. I must beg leave to surrender, except—— 'has the staff. I must not accept the seals, unless—— 'comes into the other office.' This hath been the language of late years from subjects to their Prince. Thus they stood upon terms, and must have their own conditions to ruin the nation. Nay, this dutiful manner of capitulating had spread so far, that every under-strapper began at length to perk up and assume; he *expected a regiment*; or *his son must be a Major*; or *his brother a Collector*; else he threatened to *vote according to his conscience*.

ANOTHER of their glorious attempts was the clause intended in the bill *for the encouragement of learning*, by taking off the obligation upon fellows of colleges in both universities to enter upon holy orders: the design of which, as I have heard the undertakers often confess, was to remove the care of educating youth out of the hands of the clergy, who are apt to infuse into their pupils too great a regard for the church and the monarchy. But there was a farther secret in this clause, which may best be discovered by the first projectors, or at least the *parblers* of it; and these are known to be Colins and Tindal, in conjunction with a most *pious lawyer*, their disciple.

WHAT shall we say to their prodigious skill in *arithmetic*, discovered so constantly in their decision of elections; where they were able to make out by the *rule of false*, that *three* were more than *three and twenty*, and *fifteen* than *fifty*? Nay, it was a maxim, which I never heard any of them dispute, that in determining elections they were not to consider, where the right lay, but which of the *candidates* was likelier to be true to the *cause*. This they used to illustrate by a very apt and decent similitude

of gaming with a ſharper; if you cannot cheat as well as he, you are certainly undone.

ANOTHER caſt of their politics was that of endeavouring to impeach a innocent Lady †, for no reaſon imaginable, but her faithful and diligent ſervice to the Queen, and the favour her Majeſty bore to her upon that account, when others had acted contrary in ſo ſhameful a manner. What elſe was the crime? 'Had ſhe treated her Royal 'Miſtreſs with inſolence or neglect? Had ſhe enriched 'herſelf by a long practice of bribery, and obtaining ex'orbitant grants? Had ſhe engroſſed her Majeſty's fa'vours, without admitting any acceſs but thro' her means? 'Had ſhe heaped employments upon herſelf, her family, 'and dependants? Had ſhe an imperious haughty beha'viour? Or, after all, was it a perfect blunder, and mi'ſtake of one perſon for another?' I have heard of a man, who lay all night on a rough pavement, and in the morning wondering what it could poſſibly be that made him reſt ſo ill happening to ſee a feather under him, impaired the uneaſineſs of his lodging to that. I remember likewiſe the ſtory of a giant in *Rabelais*, who uſed to feed upon *iron mills*; but was unfortunately choaked with a ſmall lump of *freſh butter* before a warm oven.

AND here I cannot but obſerve, how very refined ſome people are in their generoſity and gratitude. There is a certain great perſon (I ſhall not ſay of what ſex) who for many years paſt was the conſtant mark and butt, againſt which our preſent malecontents uſed to diſcharge their reſentment; upon whom they beſtowed all the terms of ſcurrility, that malice, envy, and indignation could invent; whom they publicly accuſed of every vice, that can poſſeſs a human heart; pride, covetouſneſs, ingratitude, oppreſſion, treachery, diſſimulation, violence, and fury, all in the higheſt extremes: but of late they have changed their language on a ſudden; that perſon is now the moſt faithful and juſt, that ever ſerved a prince; that perſon, originally differing from them in principles as far as eaſt from weſt, but united in practice, and falling together, they are now reconciled, and find twenty reſemblances between each other, which they could never diſcover before. *Tanti eſt, ut placeam tibi perire!*

But

† The Lady Maſham.

BUT to return: How could it be longer ſuffered in a free nation, that all avenues to preferment ſhould be ſhut up, except a very few; when one or two ſtood conſtant *centry*, who docked all favours they handed down, or ſpread a huge inviſible net between the Prince and ſubject, thro' which nothing of value could paſs? And here I cannot but admire at one conſequence from this management, which is of an extraordinary nature. Generally ſpeaking, princes, who have ill miniſters, are apt to ſuffer in their reputation, as well as in the love of the people: but it was not ſo with the Queen. When the ſun is overcaſt by thoſe clouds he exhales from the earth, we ſtill acknowledge his light and influence, and at laſt find he can diſpel, and drive them down to the horizon. The wiſeſt prince by the neceſſity of affairs, the miſrepreſentations of deſigning men, or the innocent miſtakes even of a good predeceſſor, may find himſelf encompaſſed by a cr. w of courtiers, whom time, opportunity, and ſucceſs, have miſerably corrupted: and if he can ſave himſelf and his people from ruin under the *worſt* adminiſtration, what may not his ſubjects hope for, when with their univerſal applauſe he changeth hands, and maketh uſe of the *beſt*?

ANOTHER great objection with me againſt the late party was the cruel tyranny they put upon *conſcience* by a *barbarous inquiſition*, refuſing to admit the leaſt *toleration* or *indulgence*. They impoſed an hundred *teſts*; but could never be prevailed on to diſpenſe with, or take off, the ſmalleſt, or even to admit of *occaſional conformity*; but went on daily (as their apoſtle Tindal expreſſeth it) *narrowing their terms of communion*, pronouncing nine parts in ten of the kingdom *heretics*, and ſhutting them out of the pale of their church. Theſe very men, who talk ſo much of a *comprehenſion in religion* among us, how came they to allow ſo little of it in politics, which is *their ſole religion*? You ſhall hear them pretending to bewail the animoſities kept up between the church of England and diſſenters, where the differences in opinion are ſo few and inconſiderable; yet theſe very ſons of *moderation* were pleaſed to excommunicate every man, who diſagreed with them in the ſmalleſt article of their *political creed*, or who refuſed to receive any new article, how difficult ſo-

ever to digeſt, which the leaders impoſed at pleaſure to ſerve their own intereſt.

I will quit this ſubject for the preſent, when I have told one ſtory. 'There was a great King in Scythia, 'whoſe dominions were bounded on the north by the 'poor mountainous territories of a petty Lord, who paid 'homage, as the King's vaſſal. The Scythian Prime 'Miniſter, being largely bribed, indirectly obtained his 'maſter's conſent to ſuffer this Lord to build forts, and 'provide himſelf with arms, under pretence of prevent-'ing the inroads of the Tartars. This little depending 'ſovereign, finding he was now in a condition to be 'troubleſome, began to inſiſt upon terms, and threaten-'ed upon every occaſion to unite with the Tartars: up-'on which the Prime Miniſter, who began to be in pain 'about his *head*, propoſed a *match* betwixt his maſter, 'and the only daughter of this tributary Lord, which he 'had the good luck to bring to paſs; and from that 'time valued himſelf as author of a moſt glorious *union*, 'which indeed was grown of abſolute neceſſity by his 'corruption.' This paſſage, cited literally from an old hiſtory of Sarmatia, I thought fit to ſet down on purpoſe to perplex little ſmattering remarkers, and put them upon the hunt for an application.

No 20. Thurſday, December 21. 1710.

——*pugnacem ſcirent ſapiente minorem.*

I AM very much at a loſs how to proceed upon the ſubject intended in this paper, which a new incident hath led me to engage in. The ſubject I mean, is that of *ſoldiers* and the *army*; but being a matter wholly out of my trade, I ſhall handle it in as cautious a manner, as I am able.

IT is certain, that the art of war hath ſuffered great changes almoſt in every age and country of the world; however, there are ſome maxims relating to it, that will be eternal truths, and which every reaſonable man muſt allow.

IN the early times of Greece and Rome, the armies of thoſe

thoſe ſtates were compoſed of their citizens, who took no pay, becauſe the quarrel was their own; and therefore the war was uſually decided in one campaign; or, if it laſted longer, yet in winter the ſoldiers returned to their ſeveral callings, and were not diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the people. The Gothic governments in Europe, altho' they were of military inſtitution, yet obſerved almoſt the ſame method. I ſhall inſtance only here in England: thoſe who held lands *in capite* of the King, were obliged to attend him in his wars with a certain number of men, who all held lands from them at eaſy rents on that condition. Theſe fought without pay; and, when the ſervice was over, returned again to their farms. It is recorded of William Ruffus, that being abſent in Normandy, and engaged in a war with his brother, he ordered twenty thouſand men to be raiſed, and ſent over from hence to ſupply his army; but having ſtruck up a peace before they were embarked, he gave them leave to diſband, upon condition they would pay him ten ſhillings a man, which amounted to a mighty ſum in thoſe days.

CONSIDER a kingdom as a great family, whereof the Prince is the father, and it will appear plainly, that mercenary troops are only *ſervants armed* either to awe the *children* at home, or elſe to defend from invaders the family, who are otherwiſe employed, and chuſe to contribute out of their ſtock for paying their defenders, rather than leave their affairs to be neglected in their abſence. The art of making ſoldiery a trade, and keeping armies in pay, ſeems in Europe to have had two originals: the firſt was *uſurpation*; when popular men deſtroyed the liberties of their country, and ſeized the power into their own hands, which they were forced to maintain by hiring guards to bridle the people. Such were antiently the *tyrants* in moſt of the ſmall ſtates of Greece; and ſuch were thoſe in ſeveral parts of Italy about three or four centuries ago, as Machiavel informs us. The other original of mercenary armies ſeems to have riſen from larger kingdoms, or common-wealths, which had ſubdued provinces at a diſtance, and were forced to maintain troops upon them to prevent inſurrections from the natives. Of this ſort were Macedon, Carthage, and Rome

Rome of old; Venice and Holland at this day, as well as moſt kingdoms of Europe. So that mercenary forces in a free ſtate, whether monarchy or commonwealth, ſeem only neceſſary either for preſerving their conqueſts (which in ſuch governments it is not prudent to extend too far,) or elſe for maintaining war at a diſtance.

IN this laſt, which at preſent is our moſt important caſe, there are certain maxims, that all wiſe governments have obſerved.

THE firſt I ſhall mention is, that no private man ſhould have a commiſſion to be *General for life*, let his merit and ſervices be ever ſo great. Or, if a Prince be unadviſedly brought to offer ſuch a commiſſion in one hand, let him (to ſave time and blood) deliver up his *crown* with the other. The Romans, in the height and perfection of their government uſually ſent out one of the new *conſuls* to be General againſt their moſt formidable enemy, and recalled the old one; who often returned before the next election, and, according as he had merit, was ſent to command in ſome other part; which perhaps was continued to him for a ſecond, and ſometimes a third year. But if Paulus Æmilius, or Scipio himſelf, had preſumed to move the *ſenate* to continue their *commiſſions for life*, they would certainly have fallen a ſacrifice to the jealouſy of the people. Cæſar indeed (between whom, and a certain General, ſome of late, with much diſcretion, have made a *parallel*) had his command in Gaul continued to him for five years; and was afterwards made perpetual Dictator, that is to ſay, *General for life*; which gave him the power and the will of utterly deſtroying the Roman liberty. But in his time the Romans were very much degenerated, and great corruptions had crept into their morals and diſcipline. However, we ſee there ſtill were ſome remains of a noble ſpirit among them; for when Cæſar ſent to be choſen Conſul, notwithſtanding his abſence, they decreed he ſhould come in perſon, give up his command, and *petere more majorum*.

IT is not impoſſible, but a General may deſire ſuch a commiſſion out of *inadvertency*, at the *inſtigation of his friend*, or perhaps of his *enemies*; or merely for the *benefit and honour of it*, without intending any ſuch *dreadful conſequences*; and in that caſe a wiſe prince, or ſtate,

may

may barely refuſe it without ſhewing any marks of their diſpleaſure. But the requeſt in its own nature is highly criminal, and ought to be entered ſo upon record, to terrify *others* in time to come from venturing to make it.

ANOTHER maxim to be obſerved by a free ſtate engaged in war is, to keep the military power in abſolute ſubjection to the civil, nor ever ſuffer the former to influence or interfere with the latter. A General and his army are *ſervants*, *hired* by the civil power to act, as they are directed from thence, and with a commiſſion large or limited as the adminiſtration ſhall think fit; for which they are largely paid in profit and honour. The whole ſyſtem, by which armies are governed, is quite *alien* from the peaceful inſtitutions of ſtates at home: and if the rewards be ſo inviting as to tempt a Senator to take a poſt in the army, whilſt he is there on his duty, he ought to conſider himſelf in no other capacity. I know not any ſort of men ſo apt as ſoldiers are to reprimand thoſe, who preſume to interfere in what relates to their trade. When they hear any of us, in a coffee houſe, wondering that ſuch a victory was not purſued; complaining that ſuch a town coſt more men and money than it was worth to take it; or that ſuch an opportunity was loſt of fighting the enemy; they preſently reprove us, and often with juſtice enough, for meddling in matters out of our ſphere; and clearly convince us of our miſtakes by terms of art, that none of us underſtand. Nor do we eſcape ſo; for they reflect with the utmoſt contempt on our ignorance; that we, who ſit at home in eaſe and ſecurity, never ſtirring from our fire-ſides, ſhould pretend from books and general reaſon to argue upon military affairs; which after all, if we may judge from the ſhare of intellectuals in ſome who are ſaid to excel that way, is not ſo very profound, or difficult a ſcience. But, if there be any weight in what they offer, as perhaps there may be a great deal, ſurely theſe gentlemen have a much weaker pretence to concern themſelves in matters of the cabinet, which are always either far above, or much beſide their capacities. Soldiers may as well pretend to preſcribe rules for trade, to determine points in philoſophy, to be moderators in an aſſembly of divines, or direct in a court of juſtice, as to miſplace their talent in examining affairs of ſtate,

ſtate, eſpecially in what relates to the *choice of miniſters* who are never ſo likely to be ill choſen as when approved by them. It would be endleſs to ſhew, how pernicious all ſteps of this nature have been in many parts and ages of the world. I ſhall only produce two at preſent; one in Rome, the other in England. The firſt is of Cæſar: when he came to the city with his ſoldiers to *ſettle the miniſtry*, there was an end of their liberty forever. The ſecond was in the great rebellion againſt K. Charles I. The King and both houſes were agreed upon the terms of a peace; but the officers of the army, as Ludlow relates it, ſet a guard upon the houſe of Commons, took a liſt of the members, and kept all by force out of the houſe, except thoſe who were for bringing the King to a trial. Some years after, when they erected a military government, and ruled the iſland by Major Generals, we received moſt admirable inſtances of their ſkill in politics. To ſay the truth ſuch formidable ſticklers can have but two reaſons for deſiring to interfere in the adminiſtration; the firſt is that of Cæſar and Cromwell, of which God forbid I ſhould accuſe or ſuſpect any body, ſince the ſecond is pernicious enough, and that is, "to preſerve thoſe in "power who are for perpetuating a war, rather than "ſee others advanced, who, they are ſure, will uſe all "proper means to promote a ſafe and honourable peace."

Fourthly. Since it is obſerved of armies, that in the preſent age they are brought to ſome degree of humanity, and a more regular demeanor to each other and to the world, than in former times, it is certainly a good maxim to endeavour preſerving this temper among them; without which they would ſoon degenerate into ſavages. To this end it would be prudent, among other things, to forbid that deteſtable cuſtom of *drinking to the damnation or confuſion* of any perſon whatſoever.

SUCH deſperate acts, and the opinions infuſed along with them into heads already inflamed by youth and wine, are enough to ſcatter madneſs and ſedition thro' a whole camp. So ſeldom upon *their knees to pray*, and ſo often to *curſe!* this is not properly atheiſm, but a ſort of *anti-religion* preſcribed by the devil, and which an atheiſt of common ſenſe would ſcorn as an abſurdity. I have heard it mentioned as a common practice laſt autumn, "ſome-

where

" where or other, to drink damnation and confuſion" (and this with circumſtances very aggravating and horrid) to the *new miniſtry*, and to thoſe who had any hand in turning out the *old*; that is to ſay, to thoſe perſons whom her Majeſty has thought fit to employ in her greateſt affairs, with ſomething *more than a glance againſt the Queen herſelf*. And if it be true, that theſe *orgies* were attended with certain *doubtful words of ſtanding by their General*, who without queſtion abhorred them, let any man conſider the conſequence of ſuch diſpoſitions, if they ſhould happen to ſpread. I could only wiſh for the honour of the army, as well as of the Queen and miniſtry, that a remedy had been applied to the diſeaſe in the place and time where it grew. If men of ſuch principles were able to propagate them in a camp, and were ſure of a *General for life*, who had any tincture of ambition, we might ſoon bid farewel to miniſters and parliaments, whether new or old.

I am only ſorry, ſuch an accident hath happened towards the cloſe of a war; when it is chiefly the intereſt of thoſe gentlemen, who have poſts in the army, to behave themſelves in ſuch a manner, as might encourage the legiſlature to make ſome proviſion for them when there will be no further need of their ſervice. They are to conſider themſelves as perſons, by their education, unqualified for many other ſtations of life. Their fortunes will not ſuffer them to retain to a party after its *fall*, nor have they weight or abilities to help towards its *reſurrection*. Their future dependence is wholly upon the prince and parliament, to which they will never make their way by *ſolemn execrations of the miniſtry*; a miniſtry of the Queen's own election, and fully anſwering the wiſhes of her people. This unhappy ſtep in ſome of *their brethren* may paſs for an uncontroulable argument, that politics are not their buſineſs, or their element. The fortune of war hath raiſed ſeveral perſons up to ſwelling titles, and great commands over numbers of men, which they are too apt to transfer along with them into civil life, and appear in all companies, as if they were at the head of their regiments, with a ſort of deportment, that ought to have been dropt behind in that ſhort paſſage to Harwich. It puts me in mind of a dialogue in Lucian, where

where Charon wafting one of their predeceſſors over Styx, ordered him to ſtrip off his armour and fine cloaths, yet ſtill thought him too heavy; 'But, *ſaid he*, put off 'likewiſe that pride and preſumption, thoſe high ſwel-'ling words, and that vain-glory;' becauſe they were of no uſe on the other ſide the water. Thus, if all that array of military grandeur were confined to the proper ſcene, it would be much more for the intereſt of the owners, and leſs offenſive to their fellow-ſubjects.

No 21. Thurſday, December 28. 1710.

Nam et majorum inſtituta tueri, ſacris ceremoniiſque retinendis, ſapientis eſt.

——— *Ruituraque ſemper*
Stat (mirum!) moles ———

WHOEVER is a true lover of our conſtitution, muſt needs be pleaſed to ſee what ſucceſsful endeavours are daily made to reſtore it in every branch to its ancient form, from the languiſhing condition it hath long lain in, and with ſuch deadly ſymptoms.

I have already handled ſome abuſes during the *late management*, and ſhall in convenient time go on with the reſt. Hitherto I have confined myſelf to thoſe of the ſtate; but, with the good leave of ſome who think it a matter of ſmall moment, I ſhall now take liberty to ſay ſomething of the *church*.

FOR ſeveral years paſt there hath not, I think, in Europe been any ſociety of men upon ſo unhappy a foot as the *clergy* of England; nor more hardly treated by thoſe very perſons, from whom they deſerved much better quarter, and in whoſe power they chiefly had put it to uſe them ſo ill. I would not willingly miſrepreſent facts, but I think it generally allowed by enemies and friends, that the bold and brave defences made before the *revolution* againſt thoſe many invaſions of our rights proceeded principally from the clergy; who are likewiſe known to have rejected all advances made them to cloſe with the meaſures at that time concerting; while the *diſſenters*, to gra-

tify their ambition and revenge, fell into the baſeſt compliances with the court, approved of all proceedings by their numerous and fulſome addreſſes. and took employments and commiſſions by virtue of the diſpenſing power, againſt the direct laws of the land. All this is ſo true, that if ever the Pretender comes in, they will, next to thoſe of his own religion, have the faireſt claim and pretenſions to his favour from their merit and eminent ſervices to his ſuppoſed father, who, without ſuch encouragement, would probably never have been miſled to go the lengths he did. It ſhould likewiſe be remembered to the everlaſting honour of the London divines, that in thoſe dangerous times they writ and publiſhed the beſt collection of arguments againſt *popery*, that ever appeared in the world. At the revolution the body of the *clergy* joined heartily in the common cauſe (except a few whoſe ſufferings perhaps have atoned for their miſtakes), like men who are content to go about for avoiding a gulph or a precipice, but come into the old ſtrait road again, as ſoon as they can. But another temper had now begun to prevail: for, as in the reign of K. Charles I. ſeveral well-meaning people were ready to join in reforming ſome abuſes, while others, who had deeper deſigns, were ſtill calling out for a *thorough reformation*, which ended at laſt in the ruin of the kingdom: ſo, after the late King's coming to the throne, there was a reſtleſs cry from men of *the ſame principles* for a *thorough revolution*; which, as ſome were carrying it on, muſt have ended in the deſtruction of the monarchy and church.

WHAT a violent humour hath run ever ſince againſt the clergy, and from what corner ſpread and fomented, is, I believe, manifeſt to all men. It looked like a ſet quarrel againſt *Chriſtianity*; and, if we call to mind ſeveral of the *leaders*, it muſt, in a great meaſure, have been actually ſo. Nothing was more common in writing and converſation, than to hear that reverend body charged in groſs with what was utterly inconſiſtent; deſpiſed for their poverty, hated for their riches; reproached with avarice, and taxed with luxury; accuſed for promoting arbitrary power, and for reſiſting the prerogative; cenſured for their pride, and ſcorned for their meanneſs of ſpirit. The repreſentatives of the lower clergy were rail-

ed at for diſputing the power of the biſhops by the known abhorrers of epiſcopacy; and abuſed for doing nothing in the convocations by thoſe very men, who helped to bind up their hands. The vice, the folly, the ignorance of every ſingle man, were laid upon the character: their juriſdiction, cenſures, and diſcipline trampled under foot; yet mighty complaints againſt their exceſſive power: the men of wit employed to turn the prieſthood itſelf into ridicule: in ſhort, groaning every where under the weight of poverty, oppreſſion, contempt, and obloquy. A fair return for the time and money ſpent in their education to fit them for the ſervice of the altar; and a fair encouragement for worthy men to come into the church! However, it may be ſome comfort for perſons of that holy function, that their divine founder, as well as his *harbinger*, met with the like reception: "John came "neither eating nor drinking, and they ſay he hath a de-"vil; the Son of man came eating and drinking, and "they ſay, Behold a glutton and a wine-bibber, *&c.*"

In this deplorable ſtate of the clergy, nothing but the hand of providence, working by its glorious inſtrument the Queen, could have been able to turn the people's hearts ſo ſurpriſingly in their favour. This Princeſs, deſtined for the ſafety of Europe, and a bleſſing to her ſubjects, began her reign with a noble benefaction to the church; and it was hoped the nation would have followed ſuch an example; which nothing could have prevented, but the falſe politics of a ſet of men, who form their maxims upon thoſe of every tottering commonwealth, which is always ſtruggling for life, ſubſiſting by expedients, and often at the mercy of any powerful neighbour. Theſe men take it into their imagination, that trade can never flouriſh, unleſs the country becomes a common receptacle for all nations, religions, and languages; a ſyſtem only proper for ſmall popular ſtates, but altogether unworthy and below the dignity of an imperial crown; which with us is beſt upheld by a monarchy in poſſeſſion of its juſt prerogative, a ſenate of nobles and of commons, and a clergy eſtabliſhed in its due rights with a ſuitable maintenance by law. But theſe men come with the ſpirit of *ſhop-keepers* to frame rules for the adminiſtration of kingdoms; or, as if they thought the whole art of gover-

vernment consisted in the importation of *nutmegs*, and the curing of *herrings*. Such an island as ours can afford enough to support the majesty of a crown, the honour of a nobility, and the dignity of a magistracy: we can encourage arts and sciences, maintain our bishops and clergy, and suffer our gentry to live in a decent, hospitable manner; yet still there will remain hands sufficient for trade and manufactures, which do always indeed deserve the best encouragement, but not to a degree of sending every living soul into the *ware-house* or the *work-shop*.

THIS pedantry of republican politics hath done infinite mischief among us. To this we owe those noble schemes of treating Christianity as a system of *speculative opinions*, which no man should be bound to believe; of making the *being*, and the worship of God, a *creature* of the state; in consequence of these, that the teachers of religion ought to hold their maintenance at pleasure, or live by the alms and charitable collection of the people, and be equally encouraged of all opinions; that they should be *prescribed* what to teach by those, who are to learn from them; and upon default have a *staff* and a *pair of shoes* left at their door: with many other projects of equal piety, wisdom, and good nature.

BUT, God be thanked, they and their schemes are vanished, and *their places shall know them no more*. When I think of that inundation of atheism, infidelity, profaneness, and licentiousness, which was like to overwhelm us, from what mouths and hearts it first proceeded, and how the people joined with the Queen's endeavours to divert this flood, I cannot but reflect on that remarkable passage in the Revelations, where "the serpent with SEVEN "heads cast out of his mouth water after the WOMAN like "a flood, that he might cause her to be carried away of "the flood: but the EARTH helped the WOMAN, and the "earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood, "which the dragon had cast out of his mouth." For the Queen having changed her ministry suitable to her own wisdom, and the wishes of her subjects, and having called a free parliament, and at the same time summoned the convocation by her royal writ, *as in all times had been accustomed*; and soon after their meeting sent a most gracious letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury to be communicated

nicated to the Biſhop and clergy of his province; taking notice of "the looſe and prophane principles, which "had been openly ſcattered and propagated among her "ſubjects: that the conſultations of the clergy were par- "ticularly requiſite to repreſs and prevent ſuch daring "attempts for which her ſubjects, from all parts of the "kingdom, have ſhewn their juſt abhorrence: *ſhe* hopes "the endeavours of the clergy in this reſpect will not "be unſucceſsful; and for her part, is ready to give "them all fit encouragement to proceed in the diſpatch "of ſuch buſineſs as properly belongs to them; and to "grant them powers requiſite to carry on ſo good a "work:' in concluſion, "earneſtly recommending to "them to avoid diſputes; and determining to do all "that in her lies to compoſe and extinguiſh them."

IT is to be hoped that this laſt part of her Majeſty's letter will be the firſt, ſhe will pleaſe to execute; for, it ſeems, this very letter created the firſt diſpute; the fact whereof is thus related: The upper houſe having formed an addreſs to the Queen, before they received her Majeſty's letter, ſent both addreſs and letter together to the lower houſe, with a meſſage excuſing their not mentioning the letter in the addreſs becauſe this was formed before the other was received. The lower houſe returned them with a deſire, that an addreſs might be formed with due regard and acknowledgements for the letter. After ſome difficulties, the ſame addreſs was ſent down again with a clauſe inſerted, making ſome ſhort mention of the ſaid letter. This the lower houſe did not think ſufficient, and ſent it back again with the ſame requeſt: whereupon the archbiſhop, after a ſhort conſultation with *ſome* of his brethren, immediately adjourned the convocation for a month; and no addreſs at all was ſent to the Queen.

I underſtand not eccleſiaſtical affairs well enough to comment upon this matter; but it ſeems to me, that all methods of doing ſervice to the church and kingdom, by means of a *convocation*, may be at any time eluded, if there be no remedy againſt ſuch an incident. And, if this proceeding be agreeable to the inſtitution, *ſpiritual aſſemblies* muſt needs be ſtrangely contrived, very different from any *lay ſenate* yet known in the world. Surely, ſome

from the nature of such a *synod*, it must be a very unhappy circumstance; when the majority of the bishops draws one way, and that of the lower clergy another. The latter, I think, are not at this time suspected for any principles bordering upon those professed by enemies to episcopacy; and if they happen to differ from the greater part of the *present sett* of bishops, I doubt it will call *some things* to mind, that may turn the scale of general favour on the inferior clergy's side; who, with a profound duty to her Majesty, are perfectly pleased with the *present turn of affairs*. Besides, *curious people* will be apt to inquire into the *dates of some promotions*, to call to mind what designs were then upon the anvil; and from thence make *malicious deductions*. Perhaps they will observe the manner of voting on the bishops bench, and compare it with what shall pass in the upper house of convocation. There is however one comfort; that under the present dispositions of the kingdom a dislike to the proceedings of any of their Lordships, even to the number of a *majority*, will be purely *personal*, and not turned to the disadvantage of the *order*. And for my part, as I am a true lover of the church, I had rather find the inclinations of the people favourable to *episcopacy* in general, than see a majority of prelates cried up by those, who are *known enemies* to the character. Nor indeed hath any thing given me more offence for several years past, than to observe how *some* of that bench have been caressed by *certain persons*; and *others* of them openly celebrated by the infamous pens of atheists, republicans, and fanatics.

Time and *mortality* can only remedy these inconveniencies in the church, which are not to be cured, like those in the state, by a *change of ministry*. If we may guess the temper of a *convocation* from the choice of a *prolocutor*, as it is usual to do that of a house of Commons by the *speaker*, we may expect great things from that reverend body, who have done themselves much reputation by pitching upon a *gentleman* of so much piety, wit, and learning, for that office; and one, who is so thoroughly versed in those parts of knowledge, which are proper for it. I am sorry, that the three Latin speeches delivered upon presenting the *prolocutor* were not made public; they

might perhaps have given us ſome light into the diſpoſition of each houſe; and beſides, one of them is ſaid to be ſo peculiar in the ſtyle and matter, as might have made up in *entertainment* what it wanted in *inſtruction*.

No. 22. Thurſday, January 4. 1710.

Nullæ ſunt occultiores inſidiæ, quam eæ, quæ latent in ſimulatione officii, aut in aliquo neceſſitudinis nomine.

The following anſwer is written in the true ſtyle, and with the uſual candour of ſuch pieces; which I have imitated to the beſt of my ſkill, and doubt not but the reader will be extremely ſatisfied with it.

The EXAMINER croſs examined; *or, A full anſwer to the laſt* EXAMINER.

IF I durſt be ſo bold with this author, I would gladly aſk him a familiar queſtion; *Pray, Sir, who made you an examiner?* He talks in one of his inſipid papers of *eight or nine thouſand corruptions*, while *we* were at the head of affairs; yet in all this time he hath hardly produced fifty;

Parturiunt montes, &c. Hor.

But I ſhall confine myſelf at preſent to his laſt paper. He tells us, "the Queen began her reign with a noble be-"nefaction to the church." Here is *prieſtcraft* with a witneſs! This is the conſtant language of your *high-fliers*, to call thoſe, who are *hired* to teach *the religion of the magiſtrate*, by the name of the *church*. But this is not all; for in the very next line he ſays, "it was hoped the na-"tion would have followed this example." You ſee the *faction* begins already to ſpeak out: this is an open demand for the abby land; this furious zealot would have us *prieſt-ridden* again, like our popiſh anceſtors; but it is to be hoped the government will take timely care to ſuppreſs ſuch audacious attemps; elſe we have ſpent ſo much blood and treaſure to very little purpoſe in maintaining

taining *religion* and the *revolution*. But what can we expect from a man, who at one blow endeavours to ruin our trade? "A country, *says he*, may flouriſh (theſe are "his own words) without being the common receptacle "for all nations, religions, and languages." What! we muſt immediately baniſh, or murder the Palatines; forbid all foreign merchants not only the Exchange, but the kingdom; perſecute the diſſenters with fire and faggot; and make it high treaſon to ſpeak any other tongue but Engliſh. In another place he talks of a *ſerpent* with *ſeven heads*, which is a manifeſt corruption of the text; for the words, *ſeven heads*, are not mentioned in that verſe. However, we know what *ſerpent* he would mean; a *ſerpent* with *fourteen legs*; or indeed no *ſerpent* at all, but ſeven great men, who were the *beſt miniſters*, the *trueſt proteſtants*, and the moſt *diſintereſted patriots*, that ever ſerved a Prince. But nothing is ſo inconſiſtent as this writer. I know not whether to call him a whig or a tory, a proteſtant or a papiſt; he finds fault with convocations; ſays, *they are aſſemblies ſtrangely contrived*; and yet lays the fault upon us, that we *bound their hands*: I wiſh we could have bound their *tongues* too. But, as faſt as their *hands* were bound, they could make a ſhift to hold their *pens*, and have their ſhare in the guilt of ruining the hopefulleſt party and miniſtry, that ever *preſcribed* to a crown. This captious gentleman is angry to "ſee a majority "of prelates cried up by thoſe, who are enemies to the "character." Now, I always thought, that the conceſſions of enemies were more to a man's advantage, than the praiſe of his friends. "Time and mortality, *he ſays*, "can only remedy theſe inconveniencies in the church:" that is, in other words, when certain biſhops are dead, we ſhall have others of our own ſtamp. Not ſo faſt: you are not yet ſo ſure of your game. We have already got one *comfortable lolt* in Spain, although by a General of our own; for joy of which our Junto had a merry meeting at the houſe of their great proſelyte, on the very day we received the happy news. One or two more ſuch *blows* would perhaps ſet us right again; and then we can employ mortality as well as others. He concludes with wiſhing, that "three letters, ſpoken when the prolocutor was "preſented, were made public." I ſuppoſe he would be

be content with *one*; and that is more than we shall humour him to grant. However, I hope he will allow it possible to have *grace*, without either *eloquence* or *Latin*; which is all I shall say to this malicious *insinuendo*.

HAVING thus, I hope, given *a full and satisfactory answer* to the Examiner's last paper, I shall now go on to a more important affair, which is, to prove by several undeniable instances, that the late ministry and their abettors were true friends to the church. It is yet, I confess, a secret to the clergy, wherein this friendship did consist. For information therefore of that reverend body, that they may never forget their benefactors, as well as of all others who may be equally ignorant, I have determined to display our merits to the world upon that weighty article. And I could wish, that what I am to say were to be written in brass for an eternal memorial; the rather, because for the future the church must endeavour to stand unsupported by those patrons, who expired in doing it their *last good office*, and will never *rise* to preserve it any more

Let us therefore produce the pious endeavours of these church defenders, who were its patrons by their power and authority, as well as ornaments of it by their exemplary lives.

First, St. Paul tells us, "there must be heresies in the "church, that the truth may be manifest;" and therefore by due course of reasoning, the more heresies there are, the more manifest will the truth be made. This being maturely considered by these lovers of the church, they endeavoured to propagate as many heresies as they could, that the light of the truth might shine the clearer.

Secondly, To shew their zeal for the church's defence, they took the care of it intirely out of the hands of *God almighty* (because that was a *foreign jurisdiction*) and made it their own *creature*, depending altogether upon them; and issued out their orders to Tindal, and others, to give public notice of it.

Thirdly, Because *charity* is the most celebrated of all Christian virtues, therefore they extended theirs beyond all bounds; and, instead of shutting the church against *dissenters*, were ready to open it to all *comers*, and *break down its walls*, rather than that any should want room

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to enter. The ſtrength of a ſtate, we know, conſiſteth in the number of people, how different ſoever in their callings: and why ſhould not the ſtrength of a church conſiſt in the ſame, how different ſoever in their *creeds*? For that reaſon they charitably attempted to aboliſh the *teſt*, which tied up ſo many hands from getting employments, in order to protect the church

I know very well, that this attempt is objected to us as a crime by ſeveral *malignant tories*; and denied as a ſlander by many unthinking people among ourſelves. The latter are apt, in their defence, to aſk ſuch queſtions as theſe; "Was your teſt repealed? had we not "a majority? might we not have done it, if we pleaſed?" To which the others anſwer. "You did what you could: "you prepared the way, but you found a fatal impedi- "ment from that quarter, whence the ſanction of the law "muſt come; and therefore, to ſave your credit, you "condemned a paper to be burnt, which yourſelves had "brought in." But alas! the miſcarriage of that noble project for the ſafety of the church had another original; the knowledge whereof depends upon a piece of ſecret hiſtory, which I ſhall now lay open.

THESE church-protectors had directed a *preſbyterian preacher* to draw up a bill for repealing the *teſt*. It was accordingly done with great art; and, in the preamble, ſeveral expreſſions of civility to the *eſtabliſhed church*; and when it came to the qualifications of all thoſe, who were to enter on any office, the compiler had taken ſpecial care to make them large enough for all Chriſtians whatſoever, by tranſcribing the very words (only formed into an *oath*) which quakers are obliged to profeſs by a former act of parliament; as I ſhall here ſet them down: "I, A. B. profeſs faith in God the Father, and in Jeſus "Chriſt his eternal Son, the true God; and in the Holy "Spirit, one God, bleſſed for evermore; and do acknow- "ledge the holy ſcriptures of the Old and New-Teſta- "ment to be given by divine inſpiration". This bill was carried to the chief leaders, for their approbation, with theſe terrible words turned into an oath. What ſhould they do? Thoſe few among them, who fancied they believed in *God*, were ſure they did not believe in *Chriſt*, or the *Holy Spirit*, or one ſyllable of the *Bible*; and they were

were as ſure that every body knew their opinion in thoſe matters, which indeed they had been always too ſincere to diſguiſe; how therefore could they take ſuch an oath as that, without ruining their reputation with Tindal, Toland, Coward, Collins, Clendon, and all the tribe of Free-thinkers, and ſo *give a ſcandal to weak unbelievers?* Upon this nice point of honour and conſcience the matter was huſhed, the project for repealing the *teſt* let fall, and the *ſacrament* left as the ſmaller evil of the two.

Fourthly, Theſe pillars of the church, becauſe *the harveſt was great, and the labourers few*, and becauſe they would eaſe the biſhops from that grievous trouble of *laying on hands*, were willing to allow that power to all men whatſoever, to prevent that terrible conſequence of *unchurching* thoſe, who thought a hand from under a *cloak* as effectual as from *lawn ſleeves*. And indeed what could more contribute to the advancement of true religion, than a bill of general *naturalization for prieſthood?*

Fifthly, In order to fix religion in the minds of men, becauſe truth never appears ſo fair as when confronted with falſhood, they directed books to be publiſhed, that denied the being of a God, the divinity of the *ſecond* and *third perſon*, the truth of all revelation, and the immortality of the ſoul. To this we owe that great ſenſe of religion, that reſpect and kindneſs to the clergy, and that true love of virtue, ſo manifeſt of late years among the youth of our nation. Nor could any thing be more diſcreet, than to leave the merits of each cauſe to ſuch wiſe, impartial judges; who might otherwiſe fall under the ſlavery of believing by *education* and *prejudice*.

Sixthly, Becauſe nothing ſo much diſtracts the thoughts, as too great variety of ſubjects, therefore they had kindly prepared a bill to preſcribe the clergy what ſubjects they ſhould preach upon, and in what manner, that they might be at no loſs; and this no doubt was a proper work for ſuch hands, ſo thoroughly verſed in the theory and practice of all Chriſtian duties.

Seventhly, To ſave trouble and expence to the clergy, they contrived that *convocations* ſhould meet as ſeldom as poſſible; and, when they were ſuffered to aſſemble, would never allow them to meddle with any buſineſs; becauſe, *they ſaid*, the office of a clergyman was enough to take

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up the whole man. For the ſame reaſon they were very deſirous to excuſe the biſhops from ſitting in parliament, that they might be at more leiſure to ſtay at home and look after the inferior clergy.

I ſhall mention at preſent but one more inſtance of their pious zeal for the church. They had ſomewhere heard the maxim, That *ſanguis martyrum eſt ſemen eccleſiæ*; therefore, in order to ſow this ſeed, they began with impeaching a clergyman: and that it might be a true martyrdom in every circumſtance, they proceeded as much as poſſible againſt common law; which the long-robe part of the managers knew, was in an hundred inſtances directly contrary to all their poſitions, and were ſufficiently warned of it before hand; but their love of the church prevailed. Neither was this impeachment an affair taken up on a ſudden; for a certain great perſon (whoſe character hath been lately publiſhed by ſome ſtupid and lying writer) who very much diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal for forwarding this impeachment, had ſeveral years ago endeavoured to perſuade the late King to give way to juſt ſuch another attempt. He told his Majeſty, there was a certain clergyman, who preached very dangerous ſermons, and that the only way to put a ſtop to ſuch inſolence, was to impeach him in parliament. The King inquired the character of the man: "O Sir, ſaid my "Lord, the moſt violent, hot, poſitive fellow in Eng-"land; ſo extremely wilful, that I believe he would be "heartily glad to be a martyr." The King anſwered, "Is it ſo? then I am reſolved to diſappoint him;" and would never hear more of the matter; by which that hopeful project unhappily miſcarried.

I have hitherto confined myſelf to thoſe endeavours for the good of the church, which were common to all the leaders and principal men of our party; but, if my paper were not drawing towards an end, I could produce ſeveral inſtances of particular perſons, who, by their exemplary lives and actions, have confirmed the character ſo juſtly due to the whole body. I ſhall at preſent mention only two, and illuſtrate the merits of each by a matter of fact.

That worthy patriot and true lover of the church, whom a late *Examiner* is ſuppoſed to reflect on under the

and beget a better opinion of us with posterity; and then I might have spared the world and myself the trouble of examining. But at present there is a cruel dilemma in the case; the friends and abettors of the late ministry are every day publishing their praises to the world, and casting reflexions upon the present persons in power. This is so bare-faced an aspersion upon the Queen, that I know not how any good subject can with patience endure it, although he were ever so indifferent with regard to the opinions in dispute. Shall they who have lost all power and love of the people, be allowed to scatter their poison; and shall not those, who are at least of the strongest side, be suffered to bring an antidote? and how can we undeceive the deluded remainder, but by letting them see, that these discarded statesmen were justly laid aside; and producing as many instances to prove it as we can? not from any personal hatred to them, but in justification to the best of queens. The many scurrilities I have heard and read against this poor paper of mine, are in such a strain, that, considering the present state of affairs, they look like a jest. They usually run after the following manner: "What! shall this insolent writer "presume to censure the late ministry, the ablest, the "most faithful, and truest lovers of their country and its "constitution, that ever served a prince? Shall he re-"flect on the best house of Commons, that ever sat with-"in those walls? Hath not the Queen changed both "for a ministry and parliament of Jacobites and high-"fliers, who are selling us to France, and bringing over "the Pretender?" This is the very sum and force of all their reasonings, and this is their method of complaining against the Examiner. In them it is humble and loyal to reflect upon the Queen, and the ministry and parliament she hath chosen with the universal applause of her people: in us it is insolent to defend her Majesty and her choice, or to answer their objections, by shewing the reasons why those changes were necessary.

THE same style hath been used in the late case concerning some gentlemen in the army. Such a clamour was raised by a set of men, who had the boldness to tax the administration with cruelty and injustice, that I thought it necessary to interfere a little, by shewing the ill conse-

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quences that might arise from some proceedings, although without application to particular persons. And what do they offer in answer? Nothing but a few common places against *calumny* and *informers*; which might have been full as just and seasonable in a plot against the sacred person of the Queen.

But by the way, why are these idle people so indiscreet to name those *two words*, which afford occasion of laying open to the world such an infamous scene of *subordination* and *perjury*, as well as *calumny* and *informing*, as, I believe, is without example; when a whole *cabal* attempted an *action*, wherein a *condemned criminal* * refused to join with them for the reward of his life? Not that I disapprove their sagacity, who could foretel so long before by what *hand* they should one day fall, and therefore thought any means justifiable, by which they might prevent it.

But waving this at present, it must be owned in justice to the army, that those violences did not proceed so far among them, as some have believed; nor ought the madness of a *few* to be laid at their doors. For the rest, I am so far from denying the due praises to those brave troops, who did their part in procuring so many victories for the *allies*; that I could wish, every officer and private soldier had their full share of honour in proportion to their deserts; being thus far of the Athenians mind, who, when it was proposed that the statue of Miltiades should be set up alone in some public place of the city, said, they would agree to it, *whenever he conquered alone*, but not before. Neither do I at all blame the officers of the army for preferring in their hearts the late ministry before the present; or, if wishing alone could be of any use, for wishing their continuance, because then they might be secure of the war's continuance too; whereas, since affairs have been put into other hands, they may perhaps lie under some apprehensions of a peace; which no army, especially in the course of success, was ever inclined to; and which all wise states have in such a juncture chiefly endeavoured. This is a point, wherein the civil and military politics

* *Greg.*

and beget a better opinion of us with poſterity; and then I might have ſpared the world and myſelf the trouble of examining. But at preſent there is a cruel dilemma in the caſe; the friends and abettors of the late miniſtry are every day publiſhing their praiſes to the world, and caſting reflexions upon the preſent perſons in power. This is ſo bare-faced an aſperſion upon the Queen, that I know not how any good ſubject can with patience endure it, although he were ever ſo indifferent with regard to the opinions in diſpute. Shall they who have loſt all power and love of the people, be allowed to ſcatter their poiſon; and ſhall not thoſe, who are at leaſt of the ſtrongeſt ſide, be ſuffered to bring an antidote? and how can we undeceive the deluded remainder, but by letting them ſee, that theſe diſcarded ſtateſmen were juſtly laid aſide; and producing as many inſtances to prove it as we can? not from any perſonal hatred to them, but in juſtification to the beſt of queens. The many ſcurrilities I have heard and read againſt this poor paper of mine, are in ſuch a ſtrain, that, conſidering the preſent ſtate of affairs, they look like a jeſt. They uſually run after the following manner: "What! ſhall this inſolent writer "preſume to cenſure the late miniſtry, the ableſt, the "moſt faithful, and trueſt lovers of their country and its "conſtitution, that ever ſerved a prince? Shall he re"flect on the beſt houſe of Commons, that ever ſat with"in thoſe walls? Hath not the Queen changed both "for a miniſtry and parliament of Jacobites and high"fliers, who are ſelling us to France, and bringing over "the Pretender?" This is the very ſum and force of all their reaſonings, and this is their method of complaining againſt the Examiner. In them it is humble and loyal to reflect upon the Queen, and the miniſtry and parliament ſhe hath choſen with the univerſal applauſe of her people: in us it is inſolent to defend her Majeſty and her choice, or to anſwer their objections, by ſhewing the reaſons why thoſe changes were neceſſary.

THE ſame ſtyle hath been uſed in the late caſe concerning ſome gentlemen in the army. Such a clamour was raiſed by a ſet of men, who had the boldneſs to tax the adminiſtration with cruelty and injuſtice, that I thought it neceſſary to interfere a little, by ſhewing the ill conſequences

quences that might ariſe from ſome proceedings, although without application to particular perſons. And what do they offer in anſwer? Nothing but a few common places againſt *calumny* and *informers*; which might have been full as juſt and ſeaſonable in a plot againſt the ſacred perſon of the Queen.

BUT by the way, why are theſe idle people ſo indiſcreet to name thoſe *two words*, which afford occaſion of laying open to the world ſuch an infamous ſcene of *ſubordination* and *perjury*, as well as *calumny* and *informing*, as, I believe, is without example; when a whole *cabal* attempted an *action*, wherein a *condemned criminal* * refuſed to join with them for the reward of his life? Not that I diſapprove their ſagacity, who could foretel ſo long before by what *hand* they ſhould one day fall, and therefore thought any means juſtifiable, by which they might prevent it.

BUT waving this at preſent, it muſt be owned in juſtice to the army, that thoſe violences did not proceed ſo far among them, as ſome have believed; nor ought the madneſs of a *few* to be laid at their doors. For the reſt, I am ſo far from denying the due praiſes to thoſe brave troops, who did their part in procuring ſo many victories for the *allies*; that I could wiſh, every officer and private ſoldier had their full ſhare of honour in proportion to their deſerts; being thus far of the Athenians mind, who, when it was propoſed that the ſtatue of Miltiades ſhould be ſet up alone in ſome public place of the city, ſaid, they would agree to it, *whenever he conquered alone*, but not before. Neither do I at all blame the officers of the army for preferring in their hearts the late miniſtry before the preſent; or, if wiſhing alone could be of any uſe, for wiſhing their continuance, becauſe then they might be ſecure of the war's continuance too; whereas, ſince affairs have been put into other hands, they may perhaps lie under ſome apprehenſions of a peace; which no army, eſpecially in the courſe of ſucceſs, was ever inclined to; and which all wiſe ſtates have in ſuch a juncture chiefly endeavoured. This is a point, wherein the civil and military politics

* Greg.

have always disagreed: and for that reason I affirmed it necessary in all free governments, that the latter should be absolutely in subjection to the former; otherwise one of these two inconveniencies must arise, either to be perpetually in war, or to turn the *civil* institution into a *military*.

I am ready to allow all, that hath been said of the valour and experience of our troops, who have fully contributed their part to the great successes abroad; nor is it their fault, that those important victories had no better consequences at home, though it may be their *advantage*. War is their trade and business: to improve and cultivate the advantages of success, is an affair of the cabinet; and the neglect of this, whether proceeding from weakness or corruption, according to the usual uncertainty of wars, may be of the most fatal consequence to the nation. For, pray, let me represent our condition in such a light as I believe both parties will allow, though perhaps not the consequences I shall deduce from it. We have been for above nine years blest with a Queen, who, besides all virtues, that can enter into the composition of a private person, possesseth every regal quality, that can contribute to make a people happy: of great wisdom, yet ready to receive the advice of her counsellors: of much discernment in chusing proper instruments, when she follows her own judgment; and only capable of being deceived by that excess of goodness, which makes her judge of others by herself: frugal in her management, in order to contribute to the public, which in proportion she doth, and that voluntarily, beyond any of her subjects; but from her own nature generous and charitable to all, who want or deserve; and, in order to exercise those virtues, denying herself all entertainments of expence, which many others enjoy. Then, if we look abroad, at least in Flanders, our arms have been crowned with perpetual success in battles and sieges: not to mention several fortunate actions in Spain. These facts being thus stated, which none can deny; it is natural to ask, how we have improved such advantages, and to what account they have turned? I shall use no discouraging terms. When a patient grows daily worse by the tampering of mountebanks, there is nothing left but

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to call in the beſt phyſicians, before the caſe grows deſperate But I would aſk, whether France, or any other kingdom, would have made ſo little uſe of ſuch prodigious opportunities? the fruits whereof could never have fallen to the ground without the extremeſt degree of folly and corruption; and where thoſe have lain, let the world judge. Inſtead of aiming at peace, while we had the advantage of the war, which hath been the perpetual maxim of all wiſe ſtates, it hath been reckoned factious and malignant even to expreſs our wiſhes for it; and ſuch a condition impoſed, as was never offered to any prince, who had an inch of ground to diſpute; *quæ enim eſt conditio pacis, in qua ei, cum quo pacem facias, nihil concedi poteſt?*

IT is not obvious to conceive what could move men, who ſat at home, and were called to conſult upon the good of the kingdom, to be ſo utterly averſe from putting an end to a long, expenſive war, which the victorious, as well as conquered ſide, were heartily weary of. Few, or none of them, were men of the ſword; they had no ſhare in the honour; they had made large fortunes, and were at the head of all affairs. But they well knew by what tenure they held their power; that the Queen ſaw through their deſigns; that they had entirely loſt the hearts of the clergy; that the landed men were againſt them; that they were deteſted by the body of the people; and that nothing bore them up but their credit with the bank, and other ſtocks, which would be neither formidable nor neceſſary, when the war was at an end. For theſe reaſons they reſolved to diſappoint all overtures of a peace, until they and their party ſhould be ſo deeply rooted, as to make it impoſſible to ſhake them. To this end they began to precipitate matters ſo faſt, as in a little time muſt have ruined the conſtitution, if the crown had not interpoſed, and rather ventured the accidental effects of their malice, than ſuch dreadful conſequences of their power. And indeed if the former danger had been greater, than ſome hoped or feared. I ſee no difficulty in the choice, which was the ſame with his, who ſaid, *he had rather be devoured by wolves than by rats.* I therefore ſtill inſiſt, that we cannot wonder at, or find fault with, the army for concurring with the miniſtry, which was for

prolonging the war. The inclination is natural in them all; pardonable in thoſe, who have not yet made their fortunes; and as lawful in the reſt, as love of power, or love of money, can make it. But, as natural, as pardonable, and as lawful as this inclination is, when it is not under check of the civil power, or when a corrupt miniſtry joins in giving it too great a ſcope, the conſequence can be nothing leſs, than infallible ruin and ſlavery to a ſtate.

After I had finiſhed this paper, the printer ſent me two ſmall pamphlets, called, *The management of the war*; written with ſome plauſibility, much artifice, and abundance of miſrepreſentations, as well as direct falſhoods in point of fact. Theſe I have thought worth *examining*, which I ſhall accordingly do, when I find an opportunity.

N° 24. Thurſday, January 18. 1710.

Parva momenta in ſpem metumque impellunt animos.

HOPES are natural to moſt men, eſpecially to ſanguine complexions; and among the various changes, that happen in the courſe of public affairs, they are ſeldom without ſome grounds. Even in deſperate caſes, where it is impoſſible they ſhould have any foundation, they are often affected to keep a countenance, and make an enemy think we have ſome recourſe, which they know nothing of. This appears to have been for ſeveral months paſt the condition of thoſe people, whom I am forced, for want of other phraſes, to call the *ruined party*. They have taken up ſince their fall ſome real, and ſome pretended hopes. When the Earl of Sunderland was diſcarded, they *hoped* her Majeſty would proceed no farther in the change of her miniſtry; and had the inſolence to miſrepreſent her words to foreign ſtates. They *hoped*, no body durſt adviſe the diſſolution of the parliament. When this was done, and further alterations made in court, they *hoped*, and endeavoured to ruin the credit of the nation. They likewiſe hoped, that we ſhould have

ſome

ſome terrible loſs abroad, which would force us to unravel all, and begin again upon their bottom. But, of all their *hopes*, whether real or aſſumed, there is none more extraordinary than that, which they now would ſeem to place their whole confidence in: that this great turn of affairs was only occaſioned by a ſhort madneſs of the people, from which they will recover in a little time, when their eyes are open, and they grow cool and ſober enough to conſider the truth of things, and how much they have been deceived. It is not improbable, that ſome few of the deepeſt ſighted among theſe reaſoners are well enough convinced, how vain all ſuch *hopes* muſt be: but for the reſt the wiſeſt of them ſeem to have been very ill judges of the people's diſpoſitions; the want of which knowledge was a principal occaſion to haſten their ruin; for ſurely, had they ſuſpected which way the popular current inclined, they never would have run againſt it by that *impeachment*. I therefore conclude, they generally are ſo blind, as to imagine ſome comfort from this fantaſtical opinion; that the people of England are at preſent diſtracted, but will ſhortly come to their ſenſes again.

For the ſervice therefore of our adverſaries and friends I ſhall briefly *examine* this point, by ſhewing what are the cauſes and ſymptoms of a people's madneſs; and how it differs from their natural bent and inclination.

It is Machiavel's obſervation, that the people, when left to their own judgment, do ſeldom miſtake their true intereſts; and indeed they naturally love the conſtitution, they are born under; never deſiring to change, but under great oppreſſions. However, they are to be deceived by ſeveral means. It hath often happened in Greece, and ſometimes in Rome, that thoſe very men, who have contributed to ſhake off a former tyranny, have, inſtead of reſtoring the old conſtitution, deluded the people into a worſe and more ignominious ſlavery. Beſides, all great changes have the ſame effect upon commonwealths, that thunder hath upon liquors, making the *dregs* fly up to the top; the loweſt Plebeians riſe to the head of affairs, and there preſerve themſelves, by repreſenting the nobles, and other friends to the old government, as enemies to the public. The encouraging of new myſteries

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and new deities, with the pretences of farther purity in religion, hath likewiſe been a frequent topic to miſlead the people. And not to mention more, the promoting falſe reports of dangers from abroad hath often ſerved to prevent them from fencing againſt real dangers at home. By theſe and the like arts, in conjunction with a great depravity of manners, and a weak or corrupt adminiſtration, the madneſs of the people hath riſen to ſuch a height, as to break in pieces the whole frame of the beſt inſtituted governments. But however ſuch great frenzies, being artificially raiſed, are a perfect force and conſtraint upon human nature; and under a wiſe ſteddy Prince will certainly decline of themſelves, ſettling like the ſea after a ſtorm; and then the true bent and genius of the people will appear. Antient and modern ſtory are full of inſtances to illuſtrate what I ſay.

IN our own iſland we had a great example of a long madneſs in the people, kept up by a thouſand artifices, like intoxicating medicines until the conſtitution was deſtroyed; yet the malignity being ſpent, and the humour exhauſted that ſerved to foment it, before the uſurpers could fix upon a new ſcheme, the people ſuddenly recovered, and peaceably reſtored the old conſtitution.

FROM what I have offered, it will be eaſy to decide, whether this late change in the diſpoſition of the people was a new madneſs, or a recovery from an old one. Neither do I ſee how it can be proved, that ſuch a change had in any circumſtance the leaſt ſymptoms of madneſs, whether my deſcription of it be right, or no. It is agreed, that the trueſt way of judging the diſpoſition of the people in the choice of their repreſentatives is by computing the county elections; and in theſe it is manifeſt, that five in ſix are entirely for the preſent meaſures; altho' the court was ſo far from interpoſing its credit, that there was no change in the admiralty, not above one or two in the lieutenancy, nor any other methods uſed to influence elections. The free, unextorted addreſſes ſent ſome time before from every part of the kingdom plainly ſhewed, what ſort of bent the people had taken, and from what motives. The election of members for this great city, carried, contrary to all conjecture, againſt the united *intereſt* of thoſe two great bodies, the Bank and Eaſt-India

India company, was another convincing argument. Beſides, the *whigs* themſelves have always confeſſed, that the bulk of landed men in England was generally of *tories*. So that this change muſt be allowed to be according to the natural genius and diſpoſition of the people; whether it were juſt and reaſonable in itſelf, or no.

NOTWITHSTANDING all which, you ſhall frequently hear the *partiſans* of the late men in power gravely and deciſively pronounce, that the preſent miniſtry cannot poſſibly ſtand. Now, they who affirm this, if they believe themſelves, muſt ground their opinion upon the iniquity of the *laſt* being ſo far eſtabliſhed and deeply rooted, that no endeavours of honeſt men will be able to reſtore things to their former ſtate. Or elſe theſe reaſoners have been ſo miſled by twenty years miſmanagement, that they have forgot our conſtitution, and talk as if our monarchy and revolution began together. But the body of the people is wiſer; and by the choice they have made, ſhew they do underſtand our conſtitution, and would bring it back to the old form; which if the new miniſters take care to maintain, they will and ought to ſtand; otherwiſe they may fall like their predeceſſors. But I think, we may eaſily foreſee what a parliament, freely choſen, without threatening or corruption, is likely to do, when no man ſhall be in any danger to loſe his *place* by the freedom of his *voice*.

BUT, who are thoſe advancers of this opinion, that the preſent miniſtry cannot hold? It muſt be either ſuch as are afraid to be called to an account, in caſe it ſhould hold: or thoſe, who keep offices, from which others, better qualified, were removed, and may reaſonably apprehend to be turned out for worthier men to come into their places; ſince perhaps it will be neceſſary to make ſome changes, that the public buſineſs of the nation may go on: or laſtly, *ſtock-jobbers*, who induſtriouſly ſpread ſuch reports, that actions may fall, and their friends buy to advantage.

YET theſe hopes, thus freely expreſſed, as they are more ſincere, ſo they are more ſupportable, than when they appear under the *diſguiſe* and pretence of *fears*. Some of theſe gentlemen are employed to ſhake their heads in proper companies; to doubt where all this will end;

end; to be in mighty pain for the nation; to ſhew how impoſſible it is, that the public credit can be ſupported; to pray that all may do well, in whatever hands; but very much to doubt, that the Pretender is at the bottom. I know not any thing ſo nearly reſembling this behaviour, as what I have often ſeen among the friends of a ſick man, whoſe intereſt it is that he ſhould die. The phyſicians proteſt they ſee no danger, the ſymptoms are good, the medicines anſwer expectation; yet ſtill they are not to be comforted; they whiſper, he is a gone man, it is not poſſible he ſhould hold out; he hath perfect death in his face; they never liked his doctor. At laſt, the patient recovers, and their joy is as falſe as their grief.

I believe there is no man ſo ſanguine, who did not apprehend ſome ill conſequences from the late change; tho' not in any proportion to the good ones: but it is manifeſt, the former have proved much fewer and lighter than were expected either at home or abroad, by the fears of our friends, or the hopes of our enemies. Thoſe remedies, that ſtir the humours in a diſeaſed body, are at firſt more painful than the malady itſelf; yet certain death is the conſequence of deferring them too long. Actions have fallen, and the loans are ſaid to come in ſlowly. But beſides that ſomething of this muſt have been, whether there had been any change, or no: beſides that the ſurprize of every change, for the better as well as the worſe, is apt to affect credit for a while; there is a farther reaſon, which is plain, and ſcandalous. When the late party was at the helm, thoſe, who were called the *tories*, never put their reſentments in balance with the ſafety of the nations; but chearfully contributed to the common cauſe: now the ſcene is changed, the fallen party ſeems to act from very different motives; they have *given the word about*; they will keep their money, and be paſſive; and in this point, ſtand upon the ſame foot with *papiſts* and *nonjurors*. What would have become of the public, if the preſent great majority had acted thus during the late adminiſtration, before the others were maſters of that wealth they have ſqueezed out of the landed men, and with the ſtrength of which they would now hold the kingdom at defiance?

THUS

THUS much I have thought fit to ſay, without pointing reflections upon any particular perſon, which I have hitherto but ſparingly done, and that only towards thoſe, whoſe characters are too profligate, that the managing of them ſhould be of any conſequence. Beſides, as it is a talent I am not naturally fond of; ſo, in the ſubjects I treat, it is generally needleſs. If I diſplay the effects of avarice and ambition, of bribery and corruption, of groſs immorality and irreligion; thoſe, who are the leaſt converſant in things, will eaſily know where to apply them. Not that I lay any weight upon the objections of ſuch, who charge me with this proceeding: it is notorious enough, that the writers of the other ſide were the firſt aggreſſors. Not to mention their ſcurrilous libels, many years ago, directly levelled at particular perſons; how many papers do now come out every week, full of rude invectives againſt the preſent miniſtry, with the firſt and laſt letters of their names to prevent miſtakes? It is good ſometimes to let theſe people ſee, that we neither want ſpirit nor materials to retaliate; and therefore, in this point *alone*, I ſhall follow their example, whenever I find myſelf ſufficiently provoked; only with one addition, that whatever charges I bring, either general or particular, ſhall be religiouſly true, founded either upon avowed facts, which none can deny, or ſuch as I can prove from my own knowledge.

BEING reſolved publicly to confeſs any miſtakes I have been guilty of, I do hereby humbly deſire the reader's pardon for one of mighty importance, about a fact in one of my papers ſaid to be done in the cathedral of Glouceſter. A whole Hydra of errors in two words! For, as I am ſince informed, it was neither in the cathedral, nor city, nor county of Glouceſter, but ſome other church of that dioceſe. If I had ever met any other objection of equal weight, altho' from the meaneſt hands, I ſhould certainly have anſwered it.

N° 25. Thurſday, January 25. 1710.

Διαλεξάμενοί τινα ἡσυχῇ, τὸ μὲν σύμπαν ἐπὶ τε τῇ δυναστείᾳ, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συνώμοσαν.

Summiſſa quædam voce collocuti ſunt, quorum ſumma erat de dominatione, ſibi confirmanda, ac inimicis delendis, conjuratio.

NOT many days ago I obſerved a knot of diſcontented gentlemen, curſing the *tories* to hell for their uncharitableneſs in affirming, that, if the late miniſtry had continued to this time, we ſhould have had neither *church* nor *monarchy* left. They are uſually ſo candid, as to call that the opinion of the party, which they hear in a coffee-houſe, or over a bottle, from ſome warm-young people, whom it is odds but they have provoked to ſay more than they believed, by ſome poſitions as abſurd and ridiculous of their own. And ſo it proved in this very inſtance: for, aſking one of theſe gentlemen, what it was that provoked thoſe, he had been diſputing with, to advance ſuch a paradox; he aſſured me in a very calm manner, it was nothing in the world, but that himſelf and ſome others of the company had made it appear, that the deſign of the preſent parliament, and miniſtry, was to bring in *popery*, *arbitrary power*, and the *Pretender*: which I take to be an opinion fifty times more improbable, as well as more uncharitable, than what is charged upon the *whigs*: becauſe I defy our adverſaries to produce one ſingle reaſon for ſuſpecting ſuch deſigns in the perſons now at the helm; whereas I can, upon demand, produce twenty to ſhew, that ſome late men had ſtrong views towards a *commonwealth*, and the alteration of the *church*.

IT is natural indeed, when a ſtorm is over, that hath only untiled our houſes and blown down ſome of our chimnies, to conſider what farther miſchiefs might have enſued, if it had laſted longer. However, in the preſent caſe I am not of the opinion above mentioned. I believe

believe the church and ſtate might have laſted *ſomewhat longer*, altho' the late enemies to both had done their worſt. I can hardly conceive, how things would have been ſoon ripe for a new revolution. I am convinced, that if they had offered to make ſuch large and hidden ſtrides, it muſt have come to blows: and, according to the computation we have now reaſon to think a right one, I can partly gueſs, what would have been the iſſue. Beſides, we are ſure the Queen would have interpoſed, before they came to extremities; and as little as they regarded the regal authority, would have been a check in their career.

BUT, inſtead of this queſtion, what would have been the conſequence, if the late miniſtry had continued; I will propoſe another, which will be more eaſy for us to conſider; and that is, "What we may reaſonably expect they will do, if ever they come into power again?" This, we know, is the deſign and endeavour of all thoſe ſcribles, which daily fly about in their favour; of all the falſe, inſolent, and ſcandalous libels againſt the preſent adminiſtration; and of all thoſe engines for a while to ſink the *actions*, and blow up the *public credit*. As for thoſe, who ſhew their inclinations by *actions*, there is one conſideration, which I wonder doth not ſometimes affect them: for, how can they forbear having a good opinion of the gentleneſs and innocence of thoſe who permit them to employ their pens as they do? It puts me in mind of an inſolent, pragmatical orator in a city in Greece, who, railing with great freedom at the chief men in the ſtate, was anſwered by one, who had been very inſtrumental in recovering the liberty of the city, "*that* he thanked the gods, they had now arrived to the "condition he always wiſhed them in, when every man "in that city might ſecurely ſay what he pleaſed." I wiſh theſe gentlemen would however compare the liberty they take, with what their maſters uſed to give; how many meſſengers and warrants would have gone out againſt any, who durſt have opened their lips, or drawn their pens, againſt the perſons and proceedings of their *juntos* and *cabals*? How would their weekly writers have been calling out for *proſecution* and *puniſhment*? We re-

member, when a poor nick-name *, borrowed from an old play of Ben Johnſon, and mentioned in a ſermon without any particular application, was made uſe of as a motive to ſpur on an impeachment. But after all it muſt be confeſt, they had reaſons to be thus ſevere, which their ſucceſſors have not: their faults would never endure the light; and to have expoſed them ſooner would have raiſed the kingdom againſt the actors, before the proper time.

BUT to come to the ſubject I have now undertaken, which is to examine what the conſequences would be, upon ſuppoſition that the *whigs* were now reſtored to their power. I already imagine the preſent free parliament diſſolved, and another of a different epithet met by the force of money and management. I read immediately a dozen or two ſtinking votes againſt the proceedings of the late miniſtry. The bill † now to be repealed would then be re-enacted, and the birth-right of an Engliſhman reduced again to the value of twelve-pence. But to give the reader a ſtronger imagination of ſuch a ſcene, let me repreſent the deſigns of ſome men, lately endeavoured and projected, in the form of a paper of votes.

" *Ordered*,

" THAT a bill be brought in for repealing the *ſacramental teſt*.

" A petition of Tindal, Collins, Clendon, Coward, " and Toland, in behalf of themſelves and many hun- " dreds of their diſciples, ſome of whom are members of " this honourable houſe; deſiring that leave may be " given to bring in a bill for qualifying *Atheiſts*, *Deiſts*, " and *Socinians* to ſerve their country in any employ- " ment eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military.

" *Ordered*,

" That leave be given to bring in a bill according to " the prayer of the ſaid petition; and that Mr Lech- " mere ‡ do prepare and bring in the ſame.

" *Ordered*,

* Volpone was a nick-name given to Lord Treaſurer Godolphin.

† A bill for a general naturalization.

‡ Mr Lechmere was one of the managers againſt Dr Sacheverel, and ſummed up the evidence. Hawkeſ.

" *Ordered*,

" That a bill be brought in for removing the educa-
" tion of youth out of the hands of the clergy.

" Another to forbid the clergy preaching certain du-
" ties in religion; eſpecially *obedience to princes*.

" Another to take away the juriſdiction of biſhops.

" Another for conſtituting a General *for life*; with
" inſtructions to the committee, that care may be taken
" to make the war laſt as long, as the life of the ſaid
" General.

" A bill of attainder againſt James Duke of Ormond,
" John Duke of Buckingham, Laurence Earl of Roche-
" ter, Sir Simon Harcourt Knight, Robert Harley and
" William Shippen Eſquires, Abigail Maſham ſpinſter,
" and others, for high treaſon againſt the *junto*.

" *Reſolved*,

" That Sarah Ducheſs of Marlborough hath been a
" moſt dutiful, juſt, and grateful ſervant to her Majeſty.

" *Reſolved*,

" That to adviſe the diſſolution of a *whig* parliament,
" or the removal of a *whig* miniſtry, was in order to
" bring in *popery* and the *Pretender*; and that the ſaid
" advice was high treaſon.

" *Reſolved*,

" That by the *original compact*, the government of
" this realm is by a *junto*, and a King, or Queen; but
" the *adminiſtration* ſolely in the *junto*.

" *Ordered*,

" That a bill be brought in for farther limiting the
" prerogative.

" *Ordered*,

" That it be a ſtanding order of this houſe, that the
" merit of elections be not determined by the number of
" voices, or right of electors, but by weight; and that
" one *whig* ſhall weigh down ten *tories*.

" A motion being made, and the queſtion being put,
" that when a *whig* is detected of manifeſt bribery, and
" his competitor, being a *tory*, hath ten to one a majo-
" rity, there ſhall be a new election; it paſſed in the
" negative.

" *Reſolved*,

" That for a King, or Queen, of this realm to read,

" or examine a paper brought them to be signed by a " *junto* minister is arbitrary and illegal, and a violation " of the liberties of the people."

These, and the like reformations, would in all probability be the first fruits of the *whigs resurrection*; and what structures such able artists might in a short time build upon such foundations, I leave others to conjecture. All hopes of a peace cut off; the nation industriously involved in farther debts, to a degree that none would dare undertake the management of affairs, but those whose interest lay in ruining the constitution. I do not see, how the wisest prince, under such necessities, could be able to extricate himself. Then as to the *church*; the bishops would by degrees be dismissed, first from the parliament, next from their revenues, and at last from their office; and the clergy instead of their idle claim of *independency* on the state, would be forced to depend for their daily bread on every individual. But what system of future government was designed; whether it were already digested, or would have been left for time and incidents to mature, I shall not now *examine*. Only upon this occasion I cannot help reflecting on a fact, which it is probable the reader knows as well as myself. There was a picture drawn some time ago, representing five persons as large as the life, sitting in council together, like a *pentarchy*; a void space was left for a sixth, which was to have been the Queen, to whom they intended that honour: but her Majesty having since fallen under their displeasure, they have made a shift to croud in *two better friends* in her place, which makes it a complete *heptarchy* *. This piece is now in the country, reserved until better times; and hangs in a hall among the pictures of Cromwell, Bradshaw, Ireton, and some other predecessors.

I must now desire leave to say something to a gentleman, who hath been pleased to publish a discourse against a paper of mine relating to the convocation. He promiseth to *set me right without any undue reflections, or indecent language*. I suppose he means, in comparison with

* This heptarchy was the serpent with seven heads, mentioned in No 21, 22. *Hawkes.*

with others, who pretend to anſwer the *Examiner*. So far he is right; but if he thinks he hath behaved himſelf as becomes a candid antagoniſt, I believe he is miſtaken. He ſays in his title page, my *repreſentations are unfair, and my reflections unjuſt*: and his concluſion is yet more ſevere; where he 'doubts I and my friends are enraged againſt 'the Dutch, becauſe they preſerved us from popery and 'arbitrary power at the revolution; and ſince that time 'from being over-run by the exorbitant power of France, 'and becoming a prey to the Pretender.' Becauſe this author ſeems in general to write with an honeſt meaning, I would ſeriouſly put to him the queſtion, whether he thinks, 'I and my friends *are for* popery, arbitrary 'power, France and the Pretender?' I omit other inſtances of ſmaller moment, which however do not ſuit in my opinion with *due reflection or decent language*. The fact relating to the *convocation* came from a good hand; and I do not find this author differs from me in any material circumſtance about it. My reflections were no more, than what might be obvious to any other gentleman, who had heard of their late proceedings. If the notion be right, which this author gives us of a lower houſe of *convocation*; it is a very melancholy one, and to me ſeems utterly inconſiſtent with that of a body of men, whom he owns to have a *negative*: and therefore, ſince a great majority of the clergy differ from him in ſeveral points he advances, I ſhall rather chuſe to be of their opinion than his. I fancy, when the *whole ſynod met in one houſe*, as this writer affirms, they were upon a better foot with their biſhops; and therefore, whether this treatment, ſo extremely *de haut en bas*, ſince their excluſion be ſuitable to primitive cuſtom, or primitive humility towards brethren, is not my buſineſs to enquire. One may allow the divine, or apoſtolick right of epiſcopacy, and its great ſuperiority over preſbyters; and yet diſpute the methods of exerciſing the latter, which being of human inſtitution are ſubject to encroachments and uſurpations. I know every clergyman in a dioceſe hath a great deal of dependence upon his biſhop, and owes him canonical obedience: but I was apt to think, that when the whole repreſentative of the clergy met in a ſynod, they were conſidered in another light; at leaſt ſince they are

allowed to have a *negative*. If I am miſtaken, I deſire to be excuſed, as talking out of my trade; only there is one thing, wherein I intirely differ from this author: ſince in the diſputes about privileges *one ſide muſt recede*; where ſo very few privileges remain, it is a hundred to one odds, that the encroachments are not on the inferior clergy's ſide; and no man can blame them for inſiſting on the ſmall number, that is left. There is one fact, wherein I muſt take occaſion to ſet this author right: that the perſon *, who firſt moved the Queen to remit the firſt-fruits and tenths to the clergy, was an *eminent inſtrument in the late turn of affairs*; and, as I am told, hath lately prevailed to have the ſame favour granted for the clergy of *Ireland* †.

But I muſt beg leave to inform this author, that my paper is not intended for the management of controverſy; which would be of very little import to moſt readers, and only miſpend time, that I would gladly employ to better purpoſes. For where it is a man's buſineſs to entertain a whole room-ful, it is unmannerly to apply himſelf to a particular perſon, and turn his back upon the reſt of the company.

No 26. Thurſday, February 1. 1710.

Ea autem eſt gloria, laus recte factorum, magnorumque in rempublicam meritorum: quæ cum optimi cujuſque, tum etiam multitudinis, teſtimonio comprobatur.

I AM thinking, what a mighty advantage it is to be entertained as a writer to a *ruined cauſe*. I remember a *fanatic preacher*, who was inclined to come into the *church*, and take orders; but upon mature thoughts was diverted from that deſign, when he conſidered, that the collections of the *godly* were a much heartier and readier penny, than he could get by wrangling with tithes. He cer-

* Earl of Oxford, Lord Treaſurer.

† This was done by the author's ſolicitation. See his Letters to Archbiſhop King, vol. 4. p. 222.—227.

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you [illegible]
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stance: but [illegible]
of a whole party.

After such reflections [illegible]
gentlemen for [illegible]
es them largely with [illegible]

buſineſs: neither is it affectation, or altogether *ſcorn*, that I do not reply. But as things are, we both act ſuitable to our ſeveral provinces: mine is by laying open ſome corruptions in the late management to ſet thoſe, who are ignorant, right in their opinions of perſons and things: it is theirs to cover with *fig-leaves* all the faults of their friends, as well as they can. When I have produced my facts, and offered my arguments, I have nothing farther to advance; it is their office to deny, and diſprove; and then let the world decide. If *I* were as *they*, my chief endeavour ſhould certainly be to batter down the *Examiner*; therefore I cannot but approve their deſign. Beſides, they have indeed another reaſon for barking inceſſantly at this paper: they have in their prints openly taxed a moſt ingenious perſon, as author of it; one who is in great and very deſerved reputation with the world, both on account of his poetical works, and his talents for public buſineſs. They were wiſe enough to conſider, what a ſanction it would give their performances, to fall under the animadverſion of ſuch a pen; and therefore uſed all the forms of provocation commonly practiſed by little obſcure pedants, who are fond of diſtinguiſhing themſelves by the fame of an adverſary. So nice a taſte have theſe judicious critics in pretending to diſcover an author by his ſtyle, and manner of thinking! not to mention the juſtice and candour of exhauſting all the ſtale topics of ſcurrility in reviling a paper, and then flinging at a venture the whole load upon one, who is intirely innocent; and whoſe greateſt fault perhaps is too much *gentleneſs* towards a party, from whoſe *leaders* he hath received quite contrary treatment.

The concern I have for the eaſe and reputation of ſo deſerving a gentleman, hath at length forced me much againſt my intereſt and inclination to let theſe angry people know, who is *not* the author of the *Examiner*. For I obſerved the opinion began to ſpread; and I choſe rather to ſacrifice the honour I received by it, than let injudicious people intitle him to a performance, that perhaps he might have reaſon to be aſhamed of: ſtill faithfully promiſing never to diſturb thoſe worthy advocates; but ſuffer them in quiet to roar on at the *Examiner*, if they or their party find any eaſe in it; as phyſicians ſay there is to people

ple in torment, ſuch as men in the gout, or women in labour.

HOWEVER, I muſt acknowledge myſelf indebted to them for one hint, which I ſhall now purſue, altho' in a different manner. Since the fall of the late miniſtry I have ſeen many papers filled with their encomiums; I conceive, in imitation of thoſe, who write the lives of famous men, where after their deaths immediately follow their characters. When I ſaw the poor Virtues thus dealt at random, I thought the diſpoſers had flung their names, like *valentines*, into a *hat* to be drawn, as fortune pleaſed, by the *junto* and their friends. Their Craſſus drew *liberality* and *gratitude*; Fulvia, *humility* and *gentleneſs*; Clodius, *piety* and *juſtice*; Gracchus, *loyalty* to his prince; Cinna, *love of his country and conſtitution*; and ſo of the reſt. Or, to quit this allegory, I have often ſeen of late the whole ſett of diſcarded ſtateſmen celebrated by their judicious hirelings for thoſe very qualities, which their admirers owned they chiefly wanted. Did theſe *heroes* put off and lock up their *virtues*, when they came into employment; and have they now reſumed them, ſince their diſmiſſions? If they wore them, I am ſure it was under their greatneſs, and without ever once convincing the world of their *viſibility* or *influence*.

BUT, why ſhould not the preſent miniſtry find a pen to praiſe them, as well as the laſt? This is what I ſhall now undertake; and it may be more impartial in me, from whom they have deſerved ſo little. I have, without being called, ſerved them half a year in quality of *champion*; and, by help of the Queen, and a majority of nine in ten of the kingdom, have been able to protect them againſt a routed cabal of hated politicians with a dozen of ſcriblers at their head: yet, ſo far have they been from rewarding me ſuitable to my deſerts, that to this day they never ſo much as ſent to the printer to enquire, who I was; altho' I have known a time and miniſtry, where a perſon of half my merit and conſideration would have had fifty promiſes; and, in the mean time, a penſion ſettled on him, whereof the *firſt quarter ſhould be honeſtly paid*. Therefore my reſentments ſhall ſo far prevail, that in praiſing thoſe, who are now at the head of affairs, I ſhall at the ſame time take notice of

their

their defects. Was any man more eminent in his profession than the present Lord Keeper *, or more distinguished by his eloquence and great abilities in the house of commons? and will not his enemies allow him to be fully equal to the great station he now adorns? But then it must be granted, that he is wholly ignorant in the speculative, as well as practical part of *polygamy*; he knows not how to metamorphose a sober man into a *lunatic*; he is no *free-thinker* in religion, nor hath courage to be *patron* of an atheistical book, while he is guardian of the Queen's conscience. Altho' after all, to speak my private opinion, I cannot think these such mighty objections to his character, as some would pretend.

THE person who now presides at the council †, is descended from a great and honourable father, not *from the dregs of the people*; he was at the head of the treasury for some years, and rather chose to enrich his prince than himself. In the height of favour and credit, he sacrificed the greatest employment in the kingdom to his *conscience* and *honour*; he hath been always firm in his loyalty and religion, zealous for supporting the prerogative of the crown, and preserving the liberties of the people. But then his best friends must own, that he is neither *Deist* nor *Socinian*; he hath never conversed with Toland to open and enlarge his thoughts, and dispel the prejudices of education; nor was he ever able to arrive at that perfection of gallantry, "to ruin and imprison the husband, "in order to keep the wife without disturbance."

THE present Lord Steward ‡ hath been always distinguished for his wit and knowledge; is of consummate wisdom and experience in affairs; hath continued constant to the true interest of the nation, which he espoused from the beginning; and is every way qualified to support

* Sir Simon Harcourt, afterwards Lord Harcourt, was made Lord Keeper upon the resignation of Lord Chancellor Cowper. *Hawkes.*

† Laurence Hyde, late Earl of Rochester, in the room of Lord Somers. *Hawkes.*

‡ The Duke of Buckingham and Normanby, in the room of the Duke of Devonshire. *Hawkes.*

port the dignity of his office: but in point of *oratory*, muſt give place to his predeceſſor.

THE Duke of Shrewſbury * was highly inſtrumental in bringing about the *revolution*, in which ſervice he freely expoſed his life and fortune. He hath ever been the favourite of the nation, being poſſeſſed of all the amiable qualities that can accompliſh a great man; but in the agreeableneſs and fragrancy of his perſon, and the profoundneſs of his politics, muſt be allowed to fall very ſhort of——.

MR Harley † had the honour of being choſen ſpeaker ſucceſſively to three parliaments. He was the firſt of late years, who ventured to reſtore the forgotten cuſtom of treating his Prince with *duty* and *reſpect*; eaſy and diſengaged in private converſation with ſuch a weight of affairs upon his ſhoulders; of great learning, and as great a favourer and protector of it; intrepid by nature, as well as by the conſciouſneſs of his own integrity; and a deſpiſer of money; purſuing the true intereſt of his Prince and country againſt all obſtacles; ſagacious to view into the remoteſt conſequences of things, by which all difficulties fly before him; a firm friend, and a placable enemy; ſacrificing his juſteſt reſentments, not only to public good, but to common interceſſion and acknowledgement. Yet with all theſe virtues, it muſt be granted, there is ſome mixture of human infirmity. His greateſt admirers muſt confeſs his ſkill at cards and dice to be very low and ſuperficial; in *horſe-racing* he is utterly ignorant; then to ſave a few millions to the public, he never regards how many worthy citizens he hinders from making up their plumb ‡. And ſurely there is one thing never to be forgiven him; that he delights to have his table filled with *black coats*, whom he uſeth as if they were *gentlemen*.

MY

* Lord Chamberlain, in the room of the Marquis of Kent. *Hawkeſ*

† Chancellor of the Exchequer upon the removal of Lord Godolphin. *Hawkeſ.*

‡ *A cant word in England* for 100,000 l.

MY Lord Dartmouth* is a man of letters, full of good ſenſe, good nature, and honour; of ſtrict virtue and regularity in his life; but labours under one great defect, that he treats his clerks with more civility and good manners, than others in his ſtation have done the Queen.

OMITTING ſome others, I ſhall cloſe this character of the preſent *miniſtry* with that of Mr St John †, who, from his youth, applying thoſe admirable talents of nature and improvements of art to public buſineſs, grew eminent in court and parliament at an age, when the generality of mankind is employed in trifles and folly. It is to be lamented, that he hath not yet procured himſelf a *buſy, important countenance*; nor learned that profound part of wiſdom, to be *difficult of acceſs*. Beſides, he hath clearly miſtaken the true uſe of books, which he hath thumbed, and ſpoiled with reading, when he ought to have multiplied them on his ſhelves: not like a great man of my acquaintance, who knew a book by the back better than a friend by the face; altho' he had never converſed with the former, and often with the latter.

No 27. Thurſday, February 8. 1710.

Caput eſt in omni procuratione negotii et muneris publici, ut avaritiæ pellatur etiam minima ſuſpicio.

THERE is no vice which mankind carries to ſuch wild extremes, as that of *avarice*. Thoſe two, which ſeem to rival it in this point, are luſt and ambition: but the former is checked by difficulties and diſeaſes, deſtroys itſelf by its own purſuits, and uſually declines with old age; and the latter requiring courage, conduct, and fortune in a higher degree, and meeting with a thouſand dangers and oppoſitions, ſucceeds too ſeldom in an age to fall under common obſervation. Or, avarice is perhaps the

* He ſucceeded the Earl of Sunderland as Secretary of State. *Hawkeſ.*

† Secretary of State in the room of Mr Henry Boyle. He was afterwards created Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke.

the ſame paſſion with ambition; only placed in more ignoble and daſtardly minds, by which the object is changed from *power* to *money*. Or it may be that one man purſues power in order to wealth; and another wealth in order to power; which laſt is the ſafer way, altho' longer about; and, ſuiting with every period, as well as condition of life, is more generally followed.

HOWEVER it be, the extremes of this paſſion are certainly more frequent than of any other; and often to a degree ſo abſurd and ridiculous, that if it were not for their frequency, they could hardly obtain belief. The *ſtage*, which carries other follies and vices beyond nature and probability, falls very ſhort in the repreſentations of *avarice*; nor are there any extravagancies in this kind deſcribed by antient or modern comedies, which are not out-done by an hundred inſtances, commonly told among ourſelves.

I am ready to conclude from hence, that a vice, which keeps ſo firm a hold upon human nature and governs it with ſo unlimited a tyranny, ſince it cannot wholly be eradicated, ought at leaſt to be confined to particular objects; to thrift and penury, to private fraud and extortion and never ſuffered to prey upon the public; and ſhould certainly be rejected as the moſt unqualifying circumſtance for any employment, where bribery and corruption can poſſibly enter.

IF the miſchiefs of this vice in a public ſtation were confined to enriching only thoſe particular perſons employed, the evil would be more ſupportable; but it is uſually quite otherwiſe. When a *Steward* defrauds his Lord, he muſt connive at the *reſt of the ſervants*, while they are following the ſame practice in their ſeveral ſpheres: ſo that in ſome families you may obſerve a ſubordination of knaves in a link downwards to the very *keeper* in the ſtables, all cheating by concert, and with impunity. And even if this were all, perhaps the maſter could bear it without being undone; but it ſo happens, that for every ſhilling the ſervant gets by his iniquity, the maſter loſeth twenty; the perquiſites of ſervants being but ſmall compoſitions for ſuffering ſhopkeepers to bring in what bills they pleaſe. It is exactly the ſame *thing in a ſtate*: an avaricious man in office is in confede-

racy with the whole *clan* of his diſtrict, or dependence; which in modern terms of art is called *to live and let live*; and yet their gains are the ſmalleſt part of the public's loſs. Give a guinea to a knaviſh *land-waiter*, and he ſhall connive at the merchant for cheating the Queen of an hundred. A *brewer* gives a bribe to have the privilege of ſelling drink to the navy; but the fraud is an hundred times greater than the bribe, and the public is at the whole loſs.

MORALISTS make two kinds of avarice: that of Catiline, *alieni appetens, ſui profuſus*; and the other more generally underſtood by that name, which is the endleſs deſire of hoarding. But I take the former to be more dangerous in a ſtate, becauſe it mingles with ambition, which I think the latter cannot; for altho' the ſame breaſt may be capable of admitting both, it is not able to cultivate them; and where the love of heaping wealth prevails, there is not, in my opinion, much to be apprehended from ambition. The diſgrace of that ſordid vice is ſooner apt to ſpread than any other; and is always attended with the hatred and ſcorn of the people; ſo that whenever thoſe two paſſions happen to meet in the ſame ſubject, it is not unlikely that providence hath placed *avarice* to be a check upon *ambition*; and I have reaſon to think, *ſome great miniſters of ſtate* have been of my opinion.

THE divine authority of holy writ, the precepts of philoſophers, the laſhes and ridicule of ſatyrical poets, have been all employed in exploding this inſatiable thirſt of money; and all equally controuled by the daily practice of mankind. Nothing now remains to be ſaid upon the occaſion; and if there did, I muſt remember my character, that I am an *examiner* only, and not a *reformer*.

HOWEVER, in thoſe caſes where the frailties of particular men do nearly affect the public welfare, ſuch as a Prime Miniſter of State, or a great General of an army; methinks there ſhould be ſome expedient contrived to let them know impartially, what is the world's opinion in the point. Encompaſſed with a croud of depending *flatterers*, they are many degrees blinder to their own *faults*, than the common infirmities of human nature can *plead* in their excuſe. Advice dares not to be offered, or

is

is wholly loſt, or returned with hatred: and whatever appears in public againſt their prevailing vice, goes for nothing; being either not applied, or paſſing only for libel and ſlander, proceeding from the malice and envy of party.

I have ſometimes thought, that if I had lived at Rome in the time of the firſt *triumvirate*, I ſhould have been tempted to write a letter, as from an unknown hand, to thoſe three great men, who had then uſurped the ſovereign power; wherein I would freely and ſincerely tell each of them that fault which I conceived was moſt odious, and of worſt conſequence to the commonwealth. That to Craſſus ſhould have been ſent to him after his conqueſts in Meſopotamia, and in the following terms.

"To MARCUS CRASSUS, health.

"IF you apply, as you ought, what I now write, "you will be more obliged to me than to all the "world. hardly excepting your parents, or your country. "I intend to tell you, without diſguiſe or prejudice, the "opinion which the world hath entertained of you; and "to let you ſee, I write this without any ſort of ill will, "you ſhall firſt hear the ſentiments they have to your "advantage. No man diſputes the graceſulneſs of your "perſon; you are allowed to have a good and clear un-"derſtanding, cultivated by the knowledge of men and "manners, altho' not by *literature*; you are no ill ora-"tor in the ſenate; you are ſaid to excel in the art of "bridling and ſubduing your anger, and ſtifling or con-"cealing your reſentments; you have been a moſt ſuc-"ceſsful General, of long experience, great conduct, "and much perſonal courage; you have gained many "important victories for the commonwealth, and forced "the ſtrongeſt towns in Meſopotamia to ſurrender, for "which frequent *ſupplications* have been decreed by the "ſenate. Yet with all theſe qualities, and this merit, "give me leave to ſay, you are neither beloved by the "*Patricians* nor *Plebeians* at home, nor by the officers "or private ſoldiers of your own army abroad. And do "you know, Craſſus, that this is owing to a fault, of "which you may cure yourſelf by one minute's reflecti-"on? What ſhall I ſay? You are the richeſt perſon in "the commonwealth; you have no male child; your

" daughters are all married to wealthy *Patricians* ; you " are far in the decline of life, and yet you are deeply " ſtained with that odious and ignoble vice of *covetouſ-* " *neſs*. It is affirmed, that you deſcend even to the " meaneſt and moſt ſcandalous degrees of it ; and while " you poſſeſs ſo many millions, while you are daily ac- " quiring ſo many more, you are ſolicitous how to ſave " a ſingle *teſtarce* ; of which an hundred ignominious in- " ſtances are produced, and in all mens mouths. I will " only mention that paſſage of the *buſkins* *, which, " after abundance of perſuaſion, you would hardly ſuf- " fer to be cut from your legs, when they were ſo wet " and cold, that to have kept them on would have en- " dangered your life.

" Inſtead of uſing the common arguments, to diſſuade " you from this weakneſs, I will endeavour to convince " you, that you are really guilty of it; and leave the " cure to your own good ſenſe. For perhaps you are " not yet perſuaded that this is your crime ; you have " probably never yet been reproached for it to your " face ; and what you are now told comes from one " unknown, and it may be from an enemy. You will " allow yourſelf indeed to be prudent in the management " of your fortune ; you are not a prodigal, like Clodi- " u , or Catiline , but ſurely that deſerves not the name " of *avarice*. I will inform you how to be convinced. " Diſguiſe your perſon, go among the common people " in Rome, introduce diſcourſes about yourſelf, enquire " your own character: do the ſame in your camp ; walk " about it in the evening, hearken at every tent ; and " if you do not hear every mouth cenſuring, lamenting, " curſing this vice in you, and even you for this vice, " conclude yourſelf innocent. If you be not yet per- " ſuaded, ſend for Atticus, Servius Sulpicius, Cato, or " Brutus ; they are all your friends ; conjure them to " tell you ingenuouſly, which is your great fault, and " which they would chiefly wiſh you to correct ; if they " do not agree in their verdict, *in the name of all the gods*, " you are acquitted.

" When your adverſaries reflect how far you are gone " in this vice, they are tempted to talk as if we owed

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* Wet ſtockings.

" our ſucceſſes not to your courage or conduct, but to " thoſe *veteran* troops you command; who are able to " conquer under any General, with ſo many brave and " experienced officers to lead them. Beſides, we know " the conſequences your avarice hath often occaſioned. " The ſoldier hath been ſtarving for bread; ſurrounded " with plenty, and in an enemy's country; but all under " *ſafeguards* and *contributions*; which, if you had ſome- " times pleaſed to have exchanged for *proviſions*, might, " at the expence of a few talents in a campaign, have ſo " endeared you to the army, that they would have de- " ſired you to lead them to the utmoſt limits of Aſia. " But you rather choſe to confine your conqueſts within " the fruitful country of Meſopotamia, where plenty of " money might be raiſed. How far that fatal greedineſs " of gold may have influenced you in breaking off the " treaty with the old Parthian King Orodes, you beſt " can tell; your enemies charge you with it; your " friends offer nothing material in your defence; and " all agree, there is nothing ſo pernicious, which the " extremes of avarice may not be able to inſpire.

" The moment you quit this vice, you will be a tru- " ly great man; and ſtill there will imperfections enough " remain to convince us, you are not a *god*. Farewel."

Perhaps a letter of this nature, ſent to ſo reaſonable a man as Craſſus, might have put him upon *examining* into himſelf, and correcting that little ſordid appetite ſo utterly inconſiſtent with all pretences to *heroiſm*. A youth in the heat of blood may plead with ſome ſhew of reaſon, that he is not able to ſubdue his luſts. An ambitious man may uſe the ſame arguments for his love of power; or perhaps other arguments to juſtify it. But exceſs of avarice hath neither of theſe pleas to offer; it is not to be juſtified, and cannot pretend temptation for excuſe. Whence can the temptation come? Reaſon diſclaims it altogether; and it cannot be ſaid to lodge in the *blood*, or the *animal ſpirits*. So that I conclude, 'no 'man of true valour, and true underſtanding, upon whom 'this vice hath ſtolen unawares, when he is convinced 'he is guilty, will ſuffer it to remain in his breaſt an 'hour.'

No. 28. Thurſday, February 15. 1710.

Inultus ut tu rideris Cotyttia?

An anſwer to the Letter to the Examiner.

SIR, *London Feb.* 15 1710 11.

ALTHOUGH I have wanted leiſure to acknowledge the honour of a letter, you was pleaſed to write to me about ſix months ago; yet I have been very careful in obeying ſome of your commands, and am going on as faſt as I can with the reſt. I wiſh you had thought fit to have conveyed them to me by a more private hand than that of the *printing-houſe*: for, although I was pleaſed with a pattern of ſtyle and ſpirit, which I propoſed to imitate, yet I was ſorry the world ſhould be a witneſs how far I fell ſhort in both.

I am afraid you did not conſider, what an abundance of work you have cut out for me; neither am I at all comforted by the promiſe you are ſo kind to make, that when 'I have performed my taſk, D——n ſhall bluſh in 'his grave among the dead, Walpole among the living, 'and even Volpone ſhall feel ſome remorſe.' How the gentleman in his grave may have kept his countenance, I cannot inform you, having no acquaintance at all with the ſexton: but for the *other two*, I take leave to aſſure you, there have not yet appeared the leaſt ſigns of *bluſhing* or *remorſe* in either, although *ſome very good opportunities* have offered, if they had thought fit to accept them: ſo that with your permiſſion, I had rather engage to continue this work until *they* be *in their graves* too; which I am ſure will happen much ſooner than the other.

You deſire I would collect *ſome of thoſe indignities offered laſt year to her Majeſty*. I am ready to oblige you; and have got a pretty tolerable collection by me, which I am in doubt whether to publiſh by itſelf in a *large volume in folio*, or ſcatter them here and there occaſionally in my papers. Although indeed I am ſometimes thinking to ſuſpend them altogether; becauſe ſuch a hiſtory will

will be apt to give foreigners a monſtrous opinion of our country. But ſince it is your abſolute opinion, that the world ſhould be informed; I will, with the firſt occaſion, pick out a few *choice inſtances*, and let them take their chance in the enſuing papers. I have likewiſe in my cabinet, certain quires of paper filled with facts of corruption, miſmanagement, cowardice, treachery, avarice, ambition, and the like; with an alphabetical table, to ſave trouble. And perhaps you will not wonder at the care I take to be ſo well provided, when you conſider the vaſt expence I am at. I feed weekly two or three *wit-ſtarved* writers, who have no other viſible ſupport; beſides ſeveral others, who live upon my offals. In ſhort, I am like a nurſe, who ſuckles twins at one time; and hath beſides *one or two whelps* conſtantly to draw her breaſts.

I muſt needs confeſs (and it is with grief I ſpeak it) that I have been the innocent cauſe of a great circulation of dulneſs: at the ſame time I have often wondered, how it hath come to paſs, that theſe induſtrious people, after poring ſo conſtantly upon the *Examiner*, a paper writ with plain ſenſe, and in a tolerable ſtyle, have made ſo little improvement. I am ſure it would have fallen out quite otherwiſe with me: for by what I have ſeen of their performances (and I am credibly informed, they are all of a piece) if I had peruſed them until now, I ſhould have been fit for little, but to make an advocate in the ſame cauſe.

You, Sir, perhaps will wonder, as moſt others do, what end theſe angry folks propoſe in writing perpetually againſt the *Examiner*: it is not to beget a better opinion of the late miniſtry, or with any hope to convince the world, that I am in the wrong in any one fact I relate; they know all that to be loſt labour, and yet their deſign is important enough: they would fain provoke me, by all ſorts of methods within the length of their capacity, to anſwer their paper; which would render mine wholly uſeleſs to the public: for if it once came to rejoinder and reply, we ſhould be all upon a level; and then their work ſhould be done.

THERE is one gentleman* indeed, who hath written three

* *Dr Hare*, afterwards Biſhop of Chicheſter.

three ſmall pamphlets upon the *management of the war*, and *the treaty of peace*. Theſe I had intended to have beſtowed a paper in *examining*; and could eaſily have made it appear, that whatever he ſays of truth, relates not at all to the evils we complain of, or controuls one ſyllable of what I have ever advanced. No-body, that I know of, did ever diſpute the duke of Marlborough's courage, conduct, or ſucceſs; they have been always unqueſtionable, and will continue to be ſo in ſpite of the malice of his enemies, or, which is yet more, the *weakneſs of his advocates*. The nation only wiſhes to ſee him taken out of ill hands, and put into better. But what is all this to the conduct of the late miniſtry, the ſhameful miſmanagements in Spain, or the wrong ſteps in the treaty of peace; the ſecret of which will not bear the light, and is conſequently by this author very poorly defended? Theſe, and many other things, I would have ſhewn; but upon ſecond thoughts, determined to have it done in a diſcourſe by itſelf, rather than take up room here, and break into the deſign of this paper, from whence I have reſolved to baniſh controverſy as much as poſſible. But the poſtſcript to his third pamphlet was enough to diſguſt me from having any dealings at all with ſuch a writer; unleſs that part was left to ſome *footman* he hath picked up among the boys who follow the camp, whoſe character it would ſuit much better than that of the ſuppoſed author: at leaſt the foul language, the idle, impotent menaces, and the groſs perverting of an innocent expreſſion in the fourth *Examiner*, joined to that reſpect I ſhall ever have for the function of a *divine*, would incline me to believe ſo. But when he turns off his *footman*, and diſclaims that poſtſcript, I will tear it out, and ſee how far the reſt deſerves to be conſidered.

BUT, Sir, I labour under a much greater difficulty, upon which I ſhould be glad to hear your advice. I am worried on one ſide by the *whigs*, for being too *ſevere*; and by the *tories* on the other, for being too *gentle*. I have formerly hinted a complaint of this; but having lately received two peculiar letters, among many others, I thought nothing could better repreſent my condition, or the opinion which the warm men on both ſides have of

my conduct, than to ſend you a tranſcript of each. The former is exactly in theſe words:

"To the EXAMINER.

"MR EXAMINER.

"BY your continual reflecting upon the conduct of the "late miniſtry, and by your encomiums on the preſent, "it is *as clear as the ſun at noon-day*, that you are a *jeſuit*, "or *nonjuror*, employed by the friends of the *Pretender* "to endeavour to introduce *popery*, and *ſlavery*, and *ar-* "*bitrary powers*, and to infringe the *ſacred* act for *tolera-* "*tion for diſſenters*. Now, Sir, ſince *the moſt ingenious* "*author*, who write weekly againſt you, are not able "to teach you better manners, I would have you to "know, that thoſe great and excellent men, as low as "you think them at preſent, do not want friends that "will take the firſt proper occaſion to cut your throat, "as all ſuch enemies to moderation ought to be ſerved. "It is well you have cleared another perſon from being "author of your curſed libels; altho' d—m me, perhaps "after all, that may be a *bamboozle* too. However, I "hope we ſhall ſoon ferret you out. Therefore I ad- "viſe you as a friend to let fall your pen, and retire be- "times; for our patience is now at an end. It is e- "nough to loſe our power and employments, without "ſetting the whole nation againſt us. Conſider, three "years is the life of a party; d—m me, *every dog hath* "*his day*, and it will be our turn next: therefore take "warning, and learn to *ſleep in a whole ſkin*; or, when- "ever we are uppermoſt, by G—d you ſhall find no "mercy."

The other letter was in the following terms:

"To the EXAMINER.

SIR,

"I AM a *country member*, and conſtantly ſend a do- "zen of your papers down to my *electors*. I have read "*them all*, but I confeſs, not with the ſatisfaction I ex- "pected.

" pected. It is plain you know a great deal more than " you write: why will you not let us have it all out? " We are told, that the Queen hath been a long time " treated with inſolence by thoſe, ſhe hath moſt obliged. " Pray, Sir, let us have a few good ſtories upon that " head. We have been cheated of ſeveral millions; " why will not you ſet a mark on the knaves who are " guilty, and ſhew us what ways they took to rob the " public at ſuch a rate? Inform us, how we came to be " diſappointed of peace about two years ago. In ſhort, turn " the whole myſtery of iniquity inſideout, that every body " may have a view of it. But above all, explain to us " what was the bottom of that ſame *impeachment*; I am " ſure I never liked it; for at that very time a *diſſenting* " preacher in our neighbourhood came often to ſee our " parſon; it could be for no good, for he would walk " about the barns and the ſtables, and deſired to look " into the church, as *who ſhould ſay, Theſe will ſhortly be* " *mine:* and we all believed, he was then contriving " ſome alterations, againſt he got into poſſeſſion. And " I ſhall never forget that a *whig juſtice* offered me then " very high for my biſhop's leaſe. I muſt be ſo bold to " tell you, Sir, that you are too favourable: I am ſure " there was no living in quiet for us, while they were " in the *ſaddle*. I was turned out of the commiſſion, " and called a *Jacobite*, altho' it coſt me a thouſand " pounds in joining with the Prince of Orange at the " *revolution*. The diſcoveries I would have you make, " are of ſome facts, for which they ought to be hanged; " not that I value their heads, but I would ſee them ex- " poſed, which may be done upon the *owners ſhoulders* as " well as upon a *pole*," &c.

THESE, Sir, are the ſentiments of a whole party on one ſide, and of conſiderable numbers on the other: however, taking the *medium* between theſe extremes, I think to go on as I have hitherto done, altho' I am ſenſible my paper would be more popular, if I did not lean too much to the favourable ſide. For nothing delights the people more, than to ſee their oppreſſors humbled; and all their actions painted with proper colours, ſet out in

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open view, *exactos tyrannos densum humeris bibit aure vulgus.*

BUT as for the *whigs*, I am in some doubt, whether this mighty concern they shew for the honour of the late ministry, may not be affected; at least whether their masters will thank them for their zeal in such a cause. It is, I think, a known story of a gentleman, who fought another for calling him *son of a whore*; that the lady desired her son to make no more quarrels upon that subject, *because it was true.* For pray, Sir, doth it not look like a jest, that such a pernicious crew, after draining our wealth, and discovering the most destructive designs against our church and state, instead of thanking fortune that they are got off safe in their persons and plunder, should hire these bullies of the pen to defend their reputations? I remember, I thought it the hardest case in the world, when a poor acquaintance of mine having fallen in among sharpers, where he lost all his money, and then complaining he was cheated, got a good beating into the bargain *for offering to affront gentlemen.* I believe the only reason, why these purloiners of the public cause such a clutter to be made about their reputations, is to prevent inquisitions that might tend towards making them refund: like those women they call *mop-keepers*, who, when they are challenged for their thefts, appear to be mighty angry and affronted for fear of being searched.

I will dismiss you, Sir, when I have taken notice of one particular. Perhaps you may have observed, in the tolerated factious papers of the week, that the Earl of Rochester is frequently reflected on for having been Ecclesiastical Commissioner, and Lord Treasurer, in the reign of the late K. James. The fact is true; and it will not be denied, to his immortal honour, that because he could not comply with the measures then taking, he resigned both those employments: of which the latter was immediately supplied by a commission, composed of two popish Lords, and the present Earl of Godolphin.

No 29. Thursday, February 22. 1710.

Laus summa in fortunæ bonis, non extuliſſe ſe in poteſtate, non ſuiſſe inſolentem in pecunia, non ſe prætuliſſe aliis propter abundantiam fortunæ.

I AM conſcious to myſelf, that I write this paper with no other intention but that of doing good. I never received injury from the late miniſtry; nor advantage from the preſent, farther than in common with every good ſubject. There were among th. former one or two, who muſt be allowed to have poſſeſſed very valuable qualities; but proceeding by a ſyſtem of politics which our conſtitution could not ſuffer, and diſcovering a contempt of all religion, eſpecially of that which hath been ſo happily eſtabliſhed among us ever ſince the reformation; they ſeem to have been juſtly ſuſpected of no very good inclinations to either.

It is poſſible, that a man may ſpeculatively prefer the conſtitution of another country, or an Utopia of his own before that of the nation where he is born and lives; yet from conſidering the dangers of innovation, the corruptions of mankind, and the frequent impoſſibility of reducing ideas to practice, he may join heartily in preſerving the preſent order of things, and be a true friend to the government already ſettled. So in religion, a man may perhaps have little or none of it at heart; yet if he conceals his opinions, if he endeavours to make no proſelytes, advances no impious tenets in writing or diſcourſe; if according to the common atheiſtical notion, he believes religion to be only a contrivance of politicians for keeping the vulgar in awe; and the preſent model is better adjuſted than any other to ſo uſeful an end; altho' the condition of ſuch a man, as to his own future ſtate, be very deplorable; yet providence, which often works good out of evil, can make even ſuch a man an inſtrument for contributing towards the preſervation of the church.

On the other ſide; I take a ſtate to be truly in danger, both as to its religion and government, when a ſett of ambitious politicians, bred up in a hatred to the conſtitu-

ſtitution, and a contempt for all religion, are forced upon exerting theſe qualities in order to keep or increaſe their power, by widening their bottom, and taking in, like Mahomet, ſome principles from every party, that is in any way diſcontented at the preſent faith and ſettlement; which was manifeſtly our caſe. Upon this occaſion, I remember to have aſked ſome conſiderable *whigs*, whether it did not bring a diſreputation upon their body, to have the whole herd of preſbyterians, independents, atheiſts, anabaptiſts, deiſts, quakers, and Socinians openly and univerſally liſted under their banners? They anſwered, that all this was abſolutely neceſſary in order to make a balance againſt the *tories*; and all little enough: for indeed, it was as much as they could poſſibly do, altho' aſſiſted with the abſolute power of diſpoſing every employment: while the bulk of the Engliſh gentry kept firm to their old principles in church and ſtate.

BUT notwithſtanding what I have hitherto ſaid, I am informed, ſeveral among the *whigs* continue ſtill ſo refractory, that they will hardly allow the heads of their party to have entertained any deſigns of ruining the conſtitution; or that they would have endeavoured it, if they had continued in power. I beg their pardon. if I have diſcovered a ſecret; but who could imagine they ever intended it ſhould be one after thoſe *court acts*, with which they thought fit to conclude their *farce*? But perhaps they *now* find it convenient to deny vigorouſly; that the queſtion may remain, *why was the old miniſtry changed?* which they urge *on* without ceaſing, as if no occaſion in the leaſt had been given; but that all were owing to the inſinuations of crafty men, practiſing upon the weakneſs of an eaſy prince: I ſhall therefore offer among an hundred one reaſon for this change, which I think would juſtify any monarch, who ever reigned, for the like proceeding.

IT is notorious enough, how highly princes have been blamed in the hiſtories of all countries, particularly of our own, upon the account of their *minions*, who have been ever juſtly odious to the people for their inſolence and avarice, and engroſſing the favours of their maſters. Whoever hath been the leaſt converſant in the Engliſh *ſtory, cannot but* have heard of Gaveſton, the Spencers,

and ſome others; who by the exceſs and abuſe of their power coſt the princes they ſerved, or rather governed, their crowns and lives. However, in the caſe of *minions*, it muſt at leaſt be acknowledged, that the prince is pleaſed and happy, altho' his ſubjects be aggrieved; and he has the plea of friendſhip to excuſe him, which is a diſpoſition of generous minds. Beſides, a wiſe *minion*, altho' he be haughty to others, is humble and inſinuating to his maſter, and cultivates his favour by obedience and reſpect. But *our* misfortune hath been a great deal worſe; we have ſuffered for ſome years under the oppreſſion, the avarice, and inſolence of thoſe, for whom the Queen had neither eſteem nor friendſhip; who rather ſeemed to ſnatch their own dues, than receive the favour of their ſovereign; and were ſo far from returning reſpect, that they forgot common good manners. They impoſed on their Prince, by urging the *neceſſity of affairs* of their own creating: they firſt raiſed difficulties, and then offered them as arguments to keep themſelves in power. They united themſelves. againſt nature and principle, to a party they had always abhorred, and which was now content to come in upon any terms, leaving them and their creatures in full poſſeſſion of the court: then they urged the formidable ſtrength of that party, and the dangers which muſt follow by diſobliging it. So that it ſeems almoſt a miracle, how a Princeſs thus beſieged on all ſides could alone have courage and prudence enough to extricate herſelf.

AND indeed there is a point of hiſtory relating to this matter, which well deſerveth to be conſidered. When her Majeſty came to the crown, ſhe took into favour and employment ſeveral perſons, who were eſteemed the beſt friends of the old conſtitution; among whom none were reckoned farther gone in the *high-church* principles (as they are uſually called) than two or three who had at that time moſt credit; and ever ſince, until within theſe few months, poſſeſſed all power at court. So that the firſt umbrage given to the *whigs*, and the pretences for clamouring againſt France and the Pretender, were derived from them. And, I believe, nothing appeared then more unlikely, than that ſuch different opinions ſhould ever incorporate; that party having upon former occa-

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ſions treated thoſe very perſons with enmity enough. But ſome Lords then about court, and in the Queen's good graces, not able to endure thoſe growing impoſitions upon the Prince and people, preſumed to interpoſe; and were conſequently ſoon removed and diſgraced. However, when a moſt exorbitant grant was propoſed, antecedent to any viſible merit, it miſcarried in parliament for want of being ſeconded by thoſe, who had moſt credit in the houſe; and who, having always oppoſed the like exceſſes in a former reign, thought it their duty to do ſo ſtill, to ſhew the world, that the diſlike was not againſt perſons, but things. But this was to croſs the *oligarchy* in the tendereſt point; a point which outweighed all conſiderations of duty and gratitude to their Prince, or regard to the conſtitution: and therefore, after having, in ſeveral private meetings, concerted meaſures with their old enemies, and granted as well as received conditions; they began to change their ſtyle and their countenance, and to put it as a maxim in the mouths of their emiſſaries, that *England muſt be ſaved by whigs*. This unnatural league was afterwards cultivated by another incident, I mean the *act of ſecurity*, and the conſequences of it, which every body knows; when (to uſe the words of my correſpondent *) 'the ſovereign authority was parcelled out 'among the faction, and made the purchaſe of indemnity 'for an offending miniſter.' Thus the union of the two kingdoms improved that between the miniſtry and the *junto*, which was afterwards cemented by their mutual danger in that ſtorm they ſo narrowly eſcaped about three years ago, but however was not quite perfected till Prince George's death †; and then they went lovingly on together, both ſatisfied with their ſeveral ſhares, and at full liberty to gratify their predominant inclinations; the firſt, their avarice and ambition; the other, their models of innovation in church and ſtate.

THEREFORE, whoever thinks fit to revive that baffled queſtion, *why was the late miniſtry changed*, may receive the following anſwer: that it was become neceſſary by the inſolence and avarice of ſome about the Queen, who

* *Letter to the Examiner.*

† *Prince George* of Denmark, huſband to the Queen.

in order to perpetuate their tyranny had made a monſtrous alliance with thoſe, who profeſs principles deſtructive to our religion and government. If this will not ſuffice, let him make an abſtract of all the abuſes I have mentioned in my former papers, and view them together; after which, if he ſtill remain unſatisfied, let him ſuſpend his opinion a few weeks longer. Altho' after all, I think the queſtion as trifling as that of the papiſts, when they aſk us, *where was our religion before Luther?* And indeed the miniſtry was changed for the ſame reaſons that religion was reformed; becauſe a thouſand corruptions had crept into the *diſcipline* and doctrine of the *ſtate* by the pride, the avarice, the fraud, and the ambition of thoſe, *who adminiſtred to us in ſecular affairs.*

I heard myſelf cenſured the other day in a coffee-houſe for ſeeming to glance in the letter to Craſſus againſt a great man, who is ſtill in employment, and likely to continue ſo. What if I had really intended that ſuch an application ſhould be given it? I cannot perceive how I could be juſtly blamed for ſo gentle a reproof. If I ſaw a handſome young fellow going to a ball at court with a great *ſmut* upon his face; could he take it ill in me to point out the place, and deſire him, with abundance of good words, to pull out his handkerchief and wipe it off; or bring him to a glaſs where he might plainly ſee it with his own eyes? Doth any man think I ſhall ſuffer my pen to inveigh againſt vices, only becauſe they are charged upon perſons, who are no longer in power? Every body knows, that certain vices are more or leſs pernicious according to the ſtations of thoſe, who poſſeſs them. For example, lewdneſs and intemperance are not of ſo bad conſequences in a town-rake, as in a divine; cowardice in a lawyer is more ſupportable, than in an officer of the army. If I ſhould find fault with an Admiral, becauſe he wanted *politeneſs*; or an Alderman, for not underſtanding Greek; that indeed would be to go out of the way for occaſion of quarrelling. But exceſſive avarice in a General is, I think, the greateſt defect he can be liable to, next to the want of courage and conduct, and may be attended with the moſt ruinous conſequences, as it was in Craſſus, who to that vice alone owed the deſtruction of himſelf and his army. It is the

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ſame thing in praiſing mens excellencies; which are more or leſs valuable, as the perſon you commend hath occaſion to employ them. A man may perhaps mean honeſtly; yet if he be not able to ſpell, he ſhall never have my vote to be a ſecretary. Another may have wit and learning in a poſt where honeſty, with plain common ſenſe, are of much more uſe. You may praiſe a ſoldier for his ſkill at *cheſs*, becauſe it is ſaid to be a military game, and the emblem of drawing up an army; but this to a treaſurer would be no more a compliment, than if you called him a *gameſter*, or a *jocky*.

P. S. I have received a letter relating to Mr. Greenſhields; the perſon that ſent it may know, that I will ſay ſomething to it in the next paper.

N° 30. Thurſday, March 1. 1710.

Quæ enim domus tam ſtabilis, quæ tam firma civitas eſt, quæ non odiis atque diſſidiis funditus poſſit everti?

IF we examine what ſocieties of men are in cloſeſt union among themſelves, we ſhall find them either to be thoſe, who are engaged in ſome evil deſign, or who labour under one common misfortune. Thus the troops of *banditti* in ſeveral countries abroad, the knots of *highwaymen* in our own nation, the ſeveral tribes of *ſharpers*, *thieves*, and *pick-pockets*, with many others, are ſo firmly knit together, that nothing is more difficult than to break or diſſolve their ſeveral *gangs*: ſo likewiſe thoſe, who are fellow-ſufferers under any misfortune, whether it be in reality or opinion, are uſually contracted into a very ſtrict union; as we may obſerve in the *papiſts* throughout this kingdom under thoſe real difficulties, which are juſtly put on them; and in the ſeveral ſchiſms of *preſbyterians*, and other ſects, under that grievous perſecution of the modern kind, called, *want of power*. And the reaſon why ſuch confederacies are kept ſo ſacred and inviolable, is very plain; becauſe in each of thoſe caſes I *have mentioned*, the whole body is moved by one ſpirit

in purſuit of one general end, and the intereſt of individuals is not croſſed by each other, or by the whole.

Now, both theſe motives are joined to unite the *high-flying whigs* at preſent: they have been always engaged in an *evil deſign*, and of late they are faſt, or rivetted by that terrible calamity, the loſs of power. So that whatever deſign a miſchievous crew of dark confederates may poſſibly entertain, who will ſtop at no means to compaſs them, may be juſtly apprehended from theſe.

On the other ſide, thoſe who wiſh well to the public, and would gladly contribute to its ſervice, are apt to differ in their opinions about the methods of promoting it; and when their party flouriſhes, are ſometimes envious at thoſe in power; ready to over-value their own merit, and be impatient until it be rewarded by the meaſure they have preſcribed for themſelves. There is a farther topic of contention, which a ruling party is apt to fall into in relation to *retroſpections*, and enquiry into paſt miſcarriages; wherein *ſome* are thought too warm and zealous, *others* too cool and remiſs; while in the mean time theſe diviſions are induſtriouſly fomented by the diſcarded faction: which, although it be an old practice, hath been much improved in the ſchools of the *jeſuits*, who, when they deſpaired of perverting this nation to *popery* by arguments or plots againſt the ſtate, ſent their emiſſaries to ſubdivide us into ſchiſms. And this expedient is now with great propriety taken up by our men of *incenſed moderation*; becauſe they ſuppoſe themſelves able to attack the ſtrongeſt of our ſubdiviſions, and to ſubdue us one after another. Nothing better reſembles this proceeding, than that famous combat between the Horatii and Curiatii; where two of the former being killed, the third, who remained entire and untouched, was able to kill his three wounded adverſaries, after he had divided them by a ſtratagem. I well know with how tender a hand all this ſhould be touched; yet at the ſame time I think it my duty to *warn* the friends, as well as *expoſe* the enemies of the public weal; and to begin preaching up *union* upon the firſt ſuſpicion, that any ſteps are made to diſturb it.

But the two chief ſubjects of diſcontent, which upon moſt great changes in the management of public affairs are

apt to breed differences among thoſe who are in poſſeſſion, are what I have juſt now mentioned; a deſire of puniſhing the corruption of former managers; and the rewarding merit among thoſe who have been any way inſtrumental or conſenting to the change. The firſt of theſe is a point ſo nice, that I ſhall purpoſely wave it: but the latter I take to fall properly within my diſtrict. By *merit* I here underſtand that value, which every man puts upon his own deſervings from the public. And I believe, there could not be a more difficult employment found out, than that of Paymaſter-General to this ſort of *merit*; or a more noiſy, crouded place, than a court of *judicature* erected to ſettle and adjuſt every man's claim upon that article. I imagine, if this had fallen into the fancy of the antient poets, they would have dreſſed it up after their manner into an agreeable fiction; and given us a genealogy and deſcription of *merit*, perhaps not very different from that which follows.

A poetical genealogy and deſcription of MERIT.

"THAT *true Merit* was the ſon of Virtue and Honour; "but that there was likewiſe a ſpurious child, who u- "ſurped the name, and whoſe parents were Vanity and "Impudence. That at a diſtance there was a great re- "ſemblance between them, and they were often miſtaken "for each other. That the *baſtard iſſue* had a *loud ſhrill* "*voice*, which was perpetually employed in *cravings* "and *complaints*; while the other never ſpoke louder "than a *whiſper*, and was often ſo baſhful, that he could "not ſpeak at all. That in all great aſſemblies the *falſe* "*Merit* would ſtep before the *true*, and ſtand juſt in his "way; was conſtantly at court, or great men's *levees*, "or whiſpering in ſome miniſter's ear. That the more "you fed him, the more hungry and importunate he "grew. That he often paſſed for the true ſon of Vir- "tue and Honour, and the genuine for an impoſtor. "That he was born diſtorted and a dwarf, but by force "of art appeared of a handſome ſhape, and taller than "the uſual ſize; and that none but thoſe, who were wiſe "and good as well as vigilant, could diſcover his little- "neſs or deformity. That the true Merit had been

"given

" often forced to the indignity of applying to the *falſe* " for his credit with thoſe in power, and to keep him- " ſelf from ſtarving. That *falſe Merit* filled the *anti-* " *chambers* with a crew of his dependents and creatures, " ſuch as *projectors, ſchematiſts, occaſional converts to a* " *party, proſtitute flatterers, ſtarveling writers, buffoons,* " *ſhallow politicians, empty orators*, and the like; who " all owned him for their patron, and grew diſcontent- " ed, if they were not immediately fed."

THIS metaphorical deſcription of *falſe Merit* is, I doubt, calculated for moſt countries in Chriſtendom; as to our own, I believe it may be ſaid with a ſufficient reſerve of charity, that we are fully able to reward every man among us according to his real deſervings: and, I think, I may add without ſuſpicion of flattery, that never any Prince had a miniſtry with a better judgment to diſtinguiſh between *falſe* and *real merit*, than that which is now at the helm; or whoſe inclination, as well as intereſt, was greater to encourage the latter. And it ought to be obſerved, that thoſe great and excellent perſons we ſee at the head of affairs, are of the Queen's *own, perſonal, voluntary choice*; not forced upon her by any *inſolent, over-grown favourite*, or by the pretended neceſſity of complying with an *unruly faction*.

YET theſe are the perſons, whom thoſe ſcandals to the preſs, in their daily pamphlets and papers, openly revile at ſo ignominious a rate, as I believe was never tolerated before under any government. For ſurely no lawful power derived from a Prince ſhould be ſo far affronted, as to leave thoſe who are in authority expoſed to every ſcurrilous libeller; becauſe in this point I make a mighty difference between thoſe who are *in*, and thoſe who are *out* of power; not upon any regard to their perſons, but the ſtations they are placed in by the ſovereign. And if my diſtinction be right, I think I might appeal to any man, whether if a ſtranger were to read the invectives which are daily publiſhed againſt the preſent miniſtry, and the outrageous fury of the authors againſt me for cenſuring the laſt; he would not conclude the *whigs* to be at this time in full poſſeſſion of power and favour, and the *tories* entirely at mercy. But all this now ceaſes to be

a wonder, ſince the Queen herſelf is no longer ſpared; witneſs the libel publiſhed ſome days ago, under the title of *A letter to Sir Jacob Banks*, where the reflections upon her ſacred Majeſty are much more plain and direct, than ever the *Examiner* thought fit to publiſh againſt the moſt obnoxious perſons in the *miniſtry*, diſcarded for endeavouring the ruin of their Prince and country. Cæſar indeed threatened to hang the *pirates* for preſuming to diſturb him, while he was their priſoner aboard their ſhip. But it was Cæſar who did ſo, and he did it to a crew of *public robbers*; and it became the greatneſs of his ſpirit, for he lived to execute what he had threatened. Had they been in his power, and ſent ſuch a meſſage, it could be imputed to nothing but the extremes of impudence, folly, or madneſs.

I had a letter laſt week relating to Mr Greenſhields, an *epiſcopal* clergyman of Scotland, and the writer ſeems to be a gentleman of that part of Britain. I remember formerly to have read a printed account of Mr Greenſhields's caſe, who has been proſecuted and ſilenced for no other reaſon beſides reading divine ſervice after the manner of the church of England to his own congregation, who deſired it; tho', as the gentleman who writes to me ſays, there is no law in Scotland againſt thoſe meetings; and he adds, that the ſentence pronounced againſt Mr Greenſhields "will ſoon be affirmed, if ſome care be not "taken to prevent it." I am altogether uninformed in the particulars of this caſe, and beſides, to treat it juſtly would not come within the compaſs of my paper; therefore I could wiſh the gentleman would undertake it in a diſcourſe by itſelf; and I ſhould be glad he would inform the public in one fact; whether epiſcopal aſſemblies are freely allowed in Scotland? It is notorious, that abundance of their clergy fled from thence ſome years ago into England and Ireland, as from a perſecution; but it was alledged by their enemies, that they refuſed to take the oaths to the government, which however none of them ſcrupled when they came among us. It is ſomewhat extraordinary to ſee our *whigs* and *fanatics* keep ſuch a ſtir about the ſacred act of toleration, while their brethren will not allow a connivance in ſo near a neighbourhood; *eſpecially if* what the gentleman inſiſts on in his letter be

be true, that nine parts in ten of the nobility and gentry, and two in three of the commons are epiſcopal; of which one argument he offereth is the preſent choice of their repreſentatives in both houſes, tho' oppoſed to the utmoſt by the *preachings*, *threatenings*, and *anathemas* of the *kirk*. Such uſage to a majority may, as he thinks, be of dangerous conſequence; and I entirely agree with him. If theſe be the principles of the *high kirk*, God preſerve, at leaſt the ſouthern parts from their tyranny.

N° 31. Thurſday, March 8. 1710.

——Garrit anilis
Ex re fabellas.

I HAD laſt week ſent me by an unknown hand a paſſage out of Plato, with ſome hints how to apply it. That author puts a fable into the mouth of Ariſtophanes, with an account of the original of *love*: that mankind was at firſt created with four arms and legs, and all other parts double to what they are now; till Jupiter, as a puniſhment for his ſins, cleft him in two with a thunderbolt; ſince which time we are always looking out for our other half; and this is the cauſe of *love*. But Jupiter threatened, that if they did not mend their manners, he would give them the other ſlit, and leave them to hop about in the ſhape of figures in *baſſo relievo*. The effect of this laſt threatening, my correſpondent imagines, is now come to paſs; and that as the firſt ſplitting was the original of *love*, by inclining us to ſearch for our other half; ſo the ſecond was the cauſe of *hatred*, by prompting us to fly from our *other ſide*, and dividing the ſame *body* into two, gave each ſlice the name of a *party*.

I approve the fable and application, with this refinement upon it: for parties do not only ſplit a nation, but every individual among them, leaving each but half their ſtrength, and wit, and honeſty, and good nature; but one eye and ear for their fight and hearing, and equally lopping the reſt of the ſenſes. Where *parties* are pretty equal in a ſtate, no man can perceive one bad quality in

him

his own, or good one in his adverſaries. Beſides, *party* being a dry, diſagreeable ſubject, it renders converſation inſipid, or ſour, and confines invention. I ſpeak not here of the leaders, but the inſignificant croud of followers in a party, who have been the inſtruments of mixing it in every condition and circumſtance of life. As the zealots among the Jews bound the law about their foreheads, and wriſts, and hems of their garments, ſo the women among us have got the diſtinguiſhing marks of *party* in their muffs, their fans, and their furbelows. The *whig* ladies put on their patches in a different manner from the *tories*. They have made *ſchiſms* in the *play-houſe*, and each have their particular ſides at the *opera:* and when a man changeth his *party*, he muſt infallibly count upon the loſs of his miſtreſs. I aſked a gentleman the other day, how he liked ſuch a lady? But he would not give me his opinion, till I had anſwered him whether ſhe were a *whig* or a *tory*. Mr. ——, ſince he is known to viſit the preſent miniſtry, and lay ſome time under a ſuſpicion of writing the *Examiner*, is no longer a man of *wit*; his very *poems* have contracted a ſtupidity, many years after they were printed.

HAVING lately ventured a metaphorical genealogy of *merit*, I thought it would be proper to add another of *party*, or rather of *faction* (to avoid miſtake) not telling the reader whether it be my own, or a quotation, till I know how it is approved. But whether I read, or dreamed it, the fable is as follows:

" LIBERTY, the daughter of Oppreſſion, after having brought forth ſeveral fair children, as Riches, Arts, " Learning, Trade, and many others, was at laſt delivered of her youngeſt daughter called FACTION, whom " Juno, doing the office of the midwife, diſtorted in its " birth out of envy to the mother, from whence it derived its *peeviſhneſs* and fickly conſtitution. However, " as it is often the nature of parents to grow moſt fond " of their youngeſt and diſagreeableſt children, ſo it " happened with Liberty, who doated on this daughter " to ſuch a degree, that by her good will ſhe would never ſuffer the girl to be out of her ſight. As Miſs " *Faction* grew up, ſhe became ſo termagant and fro-

" ward,

" ward, that there was no enduring her any longer in " *heaven*. Jupiter gave her warning to be gone; and " her mother, rather than forſake her, took the whole " family down to *earth*. She landed firſt in Greece; " was expelled by degrees through all the cities by her " daughter's ill conduct: fled afterwards to Italy, and " being baniſhed thence, took ſhelter among the Goths, " with whom ſhe paſt into moſt parts of Europe; but, " being driven out every where, ſhe began to loſe eſteem, " and her daughter's faults were imputed to herſelf: ſo " that at this time ſhe has hardly a place in the world to " retire to. One would wonder what ſtrange qualities " this daughter muſt poſſeſs, ſufficient to blaſt the influ- " ence of ſo divine a mother, and the reſt of her chil- " dren. She always affected to keep mean and ſcanda- " lous company: valuing no body but juſt as they agreed " with her in every capricious opinion ſhe thought fit to " take up; and rigorouſly exacting compliance, though " ſhe changed her ſentiments ever ſo often. Her great " employment was to breed *diſcord* among friends and " relations, and make up monſtrous alliances between " thoſe, whoſe diſpoſitions leaſt reſembled each other. " Whoever offered to contradict her, though in the " moſt inſignificant trifle, ſhe would be ſure to diſtin- " guiſh by ſome ignominious *appellation*, and allow " them to have neither honour, wit, beauty, learning, " honeſty, or common ſenſe. She intruded into all " companies at the moſt unſeaſonable times; mixed at " balls, aſſemblies, and other parties of pleaſure, haunt- " ed every *coffee-houſe* and *bookſeller's ſhop*, and by her " perpetual talking filled all places with diſturbance and " confuſion: ſhe buzzed about the *merchant* in the Ex- " change, the *divine* in his *pulpit*, and the *ſhopkeeper* " behind his *counter*. Above all, ſhe frequented *pu-* " *blic aſſemblies*, where ſhe ſat in the ſhape of an *obſcene*, " *ominous bird*, ready to prompt her *friends* as they " ſpoke."

IF I underſtand this fable of FACTION right, it ought to be applied to thoſe, who ſet themſelves up againſt the true intereſt and conſtitution of their country; which I wiſh the undertakers for the late miniſtry would pleaſe to take

take notice of, or tell us by what figure of ſpeech they pretend to call ſo great and unforced a majority, with the Queen at *their* head, by the name of *the faction*; which is not unlike the phraſe of the *nonjurors*, who dignifying one or two deprived biſhops and half a ſcore clergymen of the ſame ſtamp with the title of the *Church of England*, exclude all the reſt as *ſchiſmatics*; or like the *presbyterians*, laying the ſame accuſation, with equal juſtice, againſt the eſtabliſhed religion.

AND here it may be worth enquiring, what are the true characteriſtics of a *faction*; or how it is to be diſtinguiſhed from that great body of the people, who are friends to the conſtitution? The heads of a *faction* are uſually a ſett of upſtarts, or men ruined in their fortunes, whom ſome great change in a government did at firſt out of their obſcurity produce upon the ſtage. They aſſociate themſelves with thoſe who diſlike the old eſtabliſhment, religious and civil They are full of new ſchemes in politics and divinity; they have an incurable hatred againſt the old nobility, and ſtrengthen their party by dependents raiſed from the loweſt of the people. They have ſeveral ways of working themſelves into power; but they are ſure to be called, when a corrupt adminiſtration wants to be ſupported againſt thoſe who are endeavouring at a reformation; and they firmly obſerve that celebrated maxim of preſerving *power* by the ſame arts, by which it is attained. They act with the ſpirit of thoſe, who believe their time is but ſhort; and their firſt care is to heap up immenſe riches at the public expence; in which they have two ends beſides that common one of inſatiable avarice, which are to make themſelves neceſſary, and to keep the commonwealth in dependence. Thus they hope to compaſs their deſign, which is, inſtead of fitting their principles to the conſtitution, to alter and adjuſt the conſtitution to their own pernicious principles.

IT is eaſy determining by this teſt, to which ſide the name of *faction* moſt properly belongs. But however, I will give them any ſyſtem of law or regal government, from William the Conqueror to this preſent time, to try whether they can tally it with their late models; excepting only that of Cromwell, whom perhaps they will reckon *for a monarch*.

IF the preſent miniſtry, and ſo great a majority in the parliament and kingdom, be only a *faction*, it muſt appear by ſome actions, which anſwer the idea we uſually conceive from that word. Have they abuſed the prerogative of the Prince, or invaded the rights and liberties of the ſubject? Have they offered at any dangerous innovations in church or ſtate? Have they broached any doctrine of hereſy, rebellion, or tyranny? Have any of them treated their ſovereign with inſolence, engroſſed and ſold all her favours, or deceived her by baſe, groſs miſrepreſentations of her moſt faithful ſervants? Theſe are the arts of a *faction*, and whoever hath practiſed them, they and their followers muſt take up with the name.

IT is uſually reckoned a *whig* principle to appeal to the people; but that is only when they have been ſo wiſe as to poiſon their underſtandings beforehand. Will they now ſtand to this appeal, and be determined by their *vox populi*, to which ſide their title of *faction* belongs? And that the people are now left to the natural freedom of their underſtanding and choice, I believe our adverſaries will hardly deny. They will now refuſe this appeal, and it is reaſonable they ſhould; and I will farther add, that, if our people reſembled the old Grecians, there might be danger in ſuch a trial. A pragmatical orator told a great man at Athens, that whenever the people were in their rage, they would certainly tear him to pieces; yes, ſays the other, and they will do the ſame to you, whenever they are in their wits. But God be thanked, our populace is more merciful in their nature, and at preſent under better direction; and the orators among us have attempted to confound both prerogative and law in their ſovereign's preſence, and before the higheſt court of judicature, without any hazard to their perſons.

No 32. Thurſday, March 15. 1710.

Non eſt ea medicina, cum ſanæ parti corporis ſcalpellum adhibetur, atque integræ; carnificina eſt iſta, et crudelitas. Hi medentur reipublicæ, qui exſecant peſtem aliquam, tanquam ſtrumam civitatis.

I AM diverted from the general ſubject of my diſcourſes to reflect upon an event of a very extraordi-

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nary and ſurpriſing nature. A great miniſter, in high confidence with the Queen, under whoſe management the weight of affairs at preſent is in a great meaſure ſuppoſed to lie; ſitting in council, in a royal palace, with a dozen of the chief officers of the ſtate, is ſtabbed at the very board, in the execution of his office, by the hand of a French *papiſt* *, then under examination for high treaſon; the aſſaſſin redoubles his blow to make ſure work; and concluding the Chancellor was diſpatched †, goes on with the ſame rage to murder a principal Secretary of State ‡: and that whole noble aſſembly are forced to riſe and draw their ſwords in their own defence, as if a wild beaſt had been let looſe among them.

THIS fact hath ſome circumſtances of aggravation, not to be parallelled by any of the like kind we meet with in hiſtory. Cæſar's murder being performed in the ſenate comes neareſt to the caſe; but that was an affair concerted by great numbers of the chief ſenators, who were likewiſe the actors in it; and not the work of a vile ſingle ruffian. Harry the third of France was ſtabbed by an enthuſiaſtic Frier whom he ſuffered to approach his perſon, while thoſe who attended him ſtood at ſome diſtance. His *ſucceſſor* met the ſame fate in a coach, where neither he nor his nobles in ſuch a confinement were able to defend themſelves. In our own country we have, I think, but one inſtance of this ſort which has made any noiſe; I mean that of Felton about fourſcore years ago; but he took the opportunity to ſtab the Duke of Bucking-

* The Abbot de Bourlie, who having quitted his native country, ſolicited to be employed againſt it in ſeveral courts of Europe, and aſſumed the title of Marquis de Guiſcard. He at length obtained a commiſſion from Q. Anne, and embarked in an expedition againſt France, which miſcarried; and his expectations being diſappointed by the new miniſtry, he endeavoured to make his peace at home by acting here as a ſpy, and commenced a treaſonable correſpondence: his letters were intercepted, and produced to him by Mr. Harley, at his examination. *Hawkeſ.*

† Mr. Harley, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, afterwards Earl of Oxford.

‡ Mr. Henry St. John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke.

ham in passing thro' a dark lobby from one room to another. The blow was neither seen nor heard, and the murderer might have escaped, if his own concern and horror, as it is usual in such cases, had not betrayed him. Besides, the act of Felton will admit of some extenuation from the motive he is said to have had: but this attempt of Guiscard seems to have outdone them all in every heightening circumstance, except the difference of persons between a king and a great minister; for I give no allowance at all to the difference of success (which however, is yet uncertain and depending), nor think it the least alleviation to the crime, whatever it may be to the punishment.

I am sensible, it is ill arguing from particulars to generals, and that we ought not to charge upon a nation the crimes of a few desperate villains it is so unfortunate to produce; yet at the same time it must be avowed, that the French have for these last centuries been somewhat too liberal of their daggers upon the persons of their greatest men; such as the Admiral de Coligny, the Dukes of Guise father and son, and the two Kings I last mentioned. I have sometimes wondered how a people, whose genius seems wholly turned to singing, and dancing, and prating, to vanity and impertinence; who lay so much weight upon modes and gestures; whose essentialities are generally so very superficial; who are usually so serious upon trifles, and so trifling upon what is serious, have been capable of committing such solid villanies, more suitable to the gravity of a Spaniard, or the silence and thoughtfulness of an Italian; unless it be, that in a nation naturally so full of themselves; and of so restless imaginations, when any of them happen to be of a morose and gloomy constitution, that huddle of confused thoughts for want of evaporating usually terminates in rage or despair. D' Avila observes, that Jacques Clement * was a sort of buffoon, whom the rest of the friers used to make sport with; but at last giving his folly a serious turn, it ended in enthusiasm, and qualified him for that desperate act of murdering his King.

But in the Marquis de Guiscard there seems to have been

* The monk who stabbed Henry III. of France. Hamlet.

been a complication of ingredients for ſuch an attempt. He had committed ſeveral enormities in France, was extremely prodigal and vicious, of a dark melancholy complexion and cloudy countenance, ſuch as in vulgar phyſiognomy is called an *ill look*. For the reſt, his talents were very mean, having a ſort of inferior cunning, but very ſmall abilities; ſo that a great man of the late miniſtry, by whom he was invited over, and with much diſcretion raiſed at firſt ſtep, from a profligate *popiſh prieſt* to a Lieutenant General, and Colonel of a regiment of horſe, was at laſt forced to drop him for ſhame.

HAD ſuch an accident happened under that miniſtry, and to ſo conſiderable a member of it, they would have immediately charged it upon the whole body of thoſe, they are pleaſed to call the *faction*. This would have been ſtyled a *high-church principle*; the clergy would have been accuſed, as promoters and abettors of the fact; committees would have been ſent to promiſe the criminal his life, provided they might have liberty to direct and dictate his confeſſion; and a black liſt would have been printed of all thoſe, who had been ever ſeen in the murderer's company. But the preſent men in power hate and deſpiſe all ſuch deteſtable arts, which they might now turn upon their adverſaries with much more plauſibility, than ever theſe did their honourable negotiations with Greg†.

† In the beginning of the year 1708, William Greg an under-clerk to Mr Secretary Harley, was detected in a correſpondence with Monſieur Chamillard, one of the French King's miniſters; to whom he tranſmitted the proceedings of both houſes of parliament with reſpect to the augmentation of the Britiſh forces, and other papers of great importance. Greg, when he was indicted of this treaſon, pleaded guilty; which gave occaſion to Mr Harley's enemies to inſinuate that he was privy to Greg's practices, and had, by aſſurances of pardon, prevailed upon him to plead guilty, *in order to prevent* the examination of witneſſes. The [illegible] appointed a committee of ſeven, of whom Lord [illegible] was manager, to inquire into the affair. The committee preſented an addreſs to the Queen, in which complaint was made, that all Mr Harley's papers had been long expoſed to the meaneſt clerks in his office; and it was requeſted.

AND here it may be worth obſerving, how unanimous a concurrence there is between ſome perſons once in great power and a French *papiſt*; both agreeing in the great end of taking away Mr Harley's life, tho' differing in their methods; the firſt proceeding by ſubornation, the other by violence; wherein Guiſcard ſeems to have the advantage, as aiming no further than his life; while the others deſigned to deſtroy at once both that and his reputation. The malice of both againſt this gentleman ſeems to have riſen from the ſame cauſe, his diſcovering deſigns againſt the government. It was Mr Harley, who detected the treaſonable correſpondence of Greg, and ſecured him betimes; when a certain great man, who ſhall be nameleſs, had, out of the depth of his politics, ſent him a caution to make his eſcape, which would certainly have fixed the appearance of guilt upon Mr Harley; but when that was prevented, they would have enticed the condemned criminal, with promiſe of a pardon, to write and ſign an accuſation againſt the Secretary: but to uſe Greg's own expreſſion, 'his death was nothing 'near ſo ignominious as would have been ſuch a life, 'that muſt be ſaved by proſtituting his conſcience.' The ſame gentleman now lies ſtabbed by his other enemy, a *popiſh ſpy*, whoſe treaſon he hath diſcovered. God preſerve the reſt of her Majeſty's miniſters from ſuch *proteſtants*, and from ſuch *papiſts!*

I ſhall take occaſion to hint at ſome particularities in this ſurpriſing fact, for the ſake of thoſe at a diſtance, or who may not be thoroughly informed. The murderer confeſſed in Newgate, that his chief deſign was againſt Mr Secretary St John, who happened to change ſeats with Mr Harley for more convenience of examining the criminal: and being aſked what provoked him to ſtab the chan-

ed, that more caution might be uſed for the future. Upon this addreſs the execution of Greg was deferred a month: during which time he was ſolicited, threatened, and promiſed; but ſtill perſiſting to take the whole guilt upon himſelf, he was at length executed; having, in a paper which he left behind him, juſtified Mr Harley in particular; which he would ſcarce have thought neceſſary, if no particular attempt had been made againſt him. Hawkeſ.

chancellor, he ſaid, that not being able to come at the Secretary as he intended, it was ſome ſatisfaction to murder the perſon, whom he thought Mr St John loved beſt *.

AND here, if Mr Harley hath ſtill any enemies left, whom his blood ſpilt in the public ſervice cannot reconcile, I hope they will at leaſt admire his magnanimity, which is a quality eſteemed even in an enemy: and I think there are few greater inſtances of it to be found in ſtory. After the wound was given, he was obſerved neither to change his countenance, nor diſcover any concern or diſorder in his ſpeech. He roſe up and walked about the room while he was able, with the greateſt tranquillity, during the height of the confuſion. When the ſurgeon came, he took him aſide, and deſired he would inform him freely whether the wound were mortal, becauſe in that caſe, he ſaid, he had ſome affairs to ſettle relating to his family. The blade of the penknife, broken by the violence of the blow againſt a rib within a quarter of an inch of the handle, was dropt out (I know not whether from the wound, or his cloaths) as the ſurgeon was going to dreſs him: he ordered it to be taken up, and wiping it himſelf, gave it ſome body to keep, ſaying, he thought *it now properly belonged to him*. He ſhewed no ſort of reſentment, nor ſpoke one violent word againſt Guiſcard, but appeared all the while the leaſt concerned of any in the company. A ſtate of mind, which in ſuch an exigency nothing but innocence can give, and is truly worthy of a Chriſtian philoſopher.

IF there be really ſo great a difference in principle between the *high-flying whigs* and the friends of France, I cannot but repeat the queſtion, how came they to join in the deſtruction of the ſame man? Can his death be poſſibly for the intereſt of both? or have they both the ſame quarrel againſt him, that he is perpetually diſcovering and preventing the treacherous deſigns of our enemies? However it be, this great miniſter may now ſay with St Paul, that he hath been "in perils by his own country-"men, and in perils by ſtrangers."

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* How much he was miſtaken, appears by Lord Bolingbroke's *Letter to Sir* William Windham.

In the midſt of ſo melancholy a ſubject, I cannot but congratulate with our own country, that ſuch a ſavage monſter as the Marquis de Guiſcard is none of her production; a wretch perhaps more deteſtable in his own nature, than even this barbarous act has been yet able to repreſent him to the world. For there are good reaſons to believe from ſeveral circumſtances, that he had intentions of a deeper dye than thoſe he happened to execute; I mean ſuch as every good ſubject muſt tremble to think on. He hath of late been frequently ſeen going up the back-ſtairs at court, and walking alone in an outer room adjoining to her Majeſty's bed-chamber. He hath often, and earneſtly preſſed, for ſome time, to have acceſs to the Queen, even ſince his correſpondence with France. And he has now given ſuch a proof of his diſpoſition, as leaves it eaſy to gueſs what was before in his thoughts, and what he was capable of attempting.

It is humbly to be hoped, that the legiſlature will interpoſe on ſo extraordinary an occaſion as this, and direct a puniſhment * ſome way proportionable to ſo execrable a crime.

Et quicumque tuum violavit vulnere corpus,
Morte luat merita———

No 33. Thurſday, March 22. 1710.

De libertate retinenda, qua certe nihil eſt dulcius, tibi aſſentior.

THE *apologies* of the antient fathers are reckoned to have been the moſt uſeful parts of their writings, and to have done greateſt ſervice to the Chriſtian religion; becauſe they removed thoſe miſrepreſentations which had done it moſt injury. The method theſe writers took, were openly and freely to diſcover every point of their faith, to detect the falſhood of their accuſers, and to charge nothing upon their adverſaries but what they were

* An act was immediately paſſed to make an attempt on the life of a Privy Councellor, in the execution of his office, felony without benefit of clergy. Hawkeſ.

were ſure to make good. This example hath been ill followed of later times; the *papiſts* ſince the reformation uſing all arts to palliate the abſurdities of their tenets, and loading the reformers with a thouſand calumnies; the conſequence of which hath been only a more various, wide, and inveterate ſeparation. It is the ſame thing in civil ſchiſms: a *whig* forms an image of a *tory* juſt after the thing he moſt abhors, and that image ſerveth to repreſent the whole body.

I am not ſenſible of any material difference there is between thoſe, who call themſelves the *old whigs*, and a great majority of the preſent *tories*, at leaſt by all I could ever find from examining ſeveral perſons of each denomination. But it muſt be confeſſed, that the preſent body of *whigs*, as they now conſtitute that party, is a very odd mixture of mankind, being forced to enlarge their bottom by taking in every heterodox profeſſor either in religion or government, whoſe opinions they were obliged to encourage for fear of leſſening their number; while the bulk of the landed men and people were entirely of the old ſentiments. However they ſtill pretended a due regard to the *monarchy* and the *church*, even at the time when they were making the largeſt ſteps towards the ruin of both; but not being able to wipe off the many accuſations laid to their charge, they endeavoured by throwing of ſcandal to make the *tories* appear blacker than themſelves; that ſo the people might join with *them*, as the ſmaller evil of the two.

BUT among all the reproaches which the *whigs* have flung upon their adverſaries, there is none hath done them more ſervice than that of *paſſive obedience*, as they repreſent it with the conſequences of *non-reſiſtance*, *arbitrary power*, *indefeaſible right*, *tyranny*, *popery*, and what not. There is no accuſation, which hath paſſed with more plauſibility than this; nor any that is ſupported with leſs juſtice. In order therefore to undeceive thoſe, who have been miſled by falſe repreſentations, I thought it would be no improper undertaking to ſet this matter in a fair light, which I think hath not yet been done. A *whig* aſks, whether you hold *paſſive obedience?* You affirm it: he then immediately cries out, you are a *Jacobite*, a *friend* of France and the Pretender! becauſe he

makes you anſwerable for the definition he hath formed of that term, however different it be from what you underſtand. I will therefore give two deſcriptions of *paſſive obedience*; the firſt as it is falſly charged by the *whigs*, the other as it is really profeſſed by the *tories*, at leaſt by nineteen in twenty of all I ever converſed with.

Paſſive obedience, as charged by the WHIGS.

THE doctrine of *paſſive obedience* is to believe, that a King, even in a limited monarchy, holding his power only from God is only anſwerable to him: that ſuch a King is above all law; that the cruelleſt tyrant muſt be ſubmitted to in all things; and if his commands be ever ſo unlawful, you muſt neither fly nor reſiſt, nor uſe any other weapons than *prayers* and *tears*. Altho' he ſhould force your wife or daughter, murder your children before your face, or cut off five hundred heads in a morning for his diverſion; you are ſtill to wiſh him a long, proſperous reign, and to be patient under all his cruelties with the ſame reſignation as under a plague or a famine; becauſe to reſiſt him would be to reſiſt God in the perſon of his vicegerent. If a King of England ſhould go thro' the ſtreets of London in order to murder every man he met, *paſſive obedience* commands them to ſubmit. All laws made to limit him ſignify nothing, altho' paſſed by his own conſent, if he thinks fit to break them. God will indeed call him to a ſevere account; but the whole people united to a man cannot preſume to hold his hands, or offer him the leaſt *active diſobedience*: the people were certainly created for him, and not he for the people. His next heir, altho' worſe than what I have deſcribed, altho' a fool or a mad man, hath a divine indefeaſible right to ſucceed him, which no law can diſannul; nay, altho' he ſhould kill his father upon the throne, he is immediately King to all intents and purpoſes; the poſſeſſion of the crown wiping off all ſtains. But whoſoever ſits on the throne without this title, tho' ever ſo peaceably, and by conſent of former Kings and Parliaments, is an *uſurper*, while there is any where in the world another perſon, who hath a nearer hereditary right; and the whole kingdom lies under mortal ſin, till that heir be reſtored.

reſtored, becauſe he hath a divine title, which no human law can defeat.

THIS and a great deal more hath, in a thouſand papers and pamphlets, been laid to that doctrine of *paſſive obedience*, which the *whigs* are pleaſed to charge upon us. This is what they are perpetually inſtilling into the people as the undoubted principle, by which the preſent miniſtry and a great majority in parliament do at this time proceed. This is what they accuſe the clergy of delivering from the pulpits, and of preaching up as a doctrine abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation. And whoever affirms in general, that *paſſive obedience* is due to the ſupreme power, he is preſently loaded by our candid adverſaries with ſuch conſequences as theſe. Let us therefore ſee what this doctrine is, when ſtript of ſuch miſrepreſentations, by deſcribing it as really taught and practiſed by the *tories*; and then it will appear what grounds our adverſaries have to accuſe us upon this article.

Paſſive obedience, as profeſſed and practiſed by the TORIES.

THEY think that in every government, whether monarchy or republic, there is placed a ſupreme, abſolute, unlimited power, to which *paſſive obedience* is due. That wherever is entruſted the power of making laws, that power is without all bounds; can repeal, or enact at pleaſure whatever laws it thinks fit; and juſtly demand univerſal obedience and non-reſiſtance. That among us, as every body knows, this power is lodged in the King or Queen, together with the Lords and Commons of the kingdom; and therefore all decrees whatſoever, made by that power, are to be actively or paſſively obeyed. That the adminiſtration, or executive part of this power is in England ſolely entruſted with the Prince, who in adminiſtering thoſe laws ought to be no more reſiſted than the legiſlative power itſelf. But they do not conceive the ſame abſolute *paſſive obedience* to be due to a limited Prince's commands, when they are directly contrary to the laws he hath conſented to, and ſworn to *maintain*. The crown may be ſued, as well as a pri-

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vate perſon; and if an arbitrary King of England ſhould ſend his officers to ſeize my lands or goods againſt law, I can lawfully reſiſt them. The miniſters, by whom he acts, are liable to proſecution and impeachment, altho' his own perſon be ſacred. But if he interpoſe his royal authority to ſupport their inſolence, I ſee no remedy, until it grows a general grievance, or until the body of the people have reaſon to apprehend it will be ſo; after which it becomes a caſe of neceſſity, and then I ſuppoſe a free people may aſſert their own rights, yet without any violation to the perſon or lawful power of the Prince. But altho' the *tories* allow all this, and did juſtify it by the ſhare they had in the *revolution*; yet they ſee no reaſon for entering into ſo ungrateful a ſubject, or raiſing controverſies upon it, as if we were in daily apprehenſions of *tyranny* under the reign of ſo excellent a Princeſs, and while we have ſo many laws of late years made to limit the prerogative; when, according to thoſe who know our conſtitution beſt, things rather ſeem to lean to the other extreme, which is equally to be avoided. As to the ſucceſſion; the *tories* think an *hereditary right* to be the beſt in its own nature, and moſt agreeable to our old conſtitution; yet at the ſame time they allow it to be defeaſible by act of parliament; and ſo is *magna charta* too, if the legiſlature think fit: which is a truth ſo manifeſt, that no man, who underſtands the nature of government, can be in doubt concerning it.

THESE I take to be the ſentiments of a great majority among the *tories* with reſpect to *paſſive obedience*: and if the *whigs* inſiſt, from the writings or common talk of warm and ignorant men, to form a judgment of the whole body, according to the firſt account I have here given; I will engage to produce as many of their ſide, who are utterly againſt *paſſive obedience* even to the legiſlature; who will aſſert the laſt reſort of power to be in the people againſt thoſe, whom they have choſen and truſted as their repreſentatives, with the Prince at the head; and who will put wild improbable caſes to ſhew the reaſonableneſs and neceſſity of reſiſting the legiſlative power in ſuch imaginary junctures. Than which however nothing can be more idle; for I dare undertake in any ſyſtem of

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government, either ſpeculative or practic, that was ever yet in the world from Plato's Republic to Harrington's Oceana, to put ſuch difficulties as cannot be anſwered.

ALL the other calumnies raiſed by the *whigs* may be as eaſily wiped off; and I have charity to wiſh they could as fully anſwer the juſt accuſations we have againſt them. Dodwell, Hickes, and Leſley are gravely quoted to prove, that the *tories* deſign to bring in the Pretender; and if I ſhould quote them to prove that the ſame thing is intended by the *whigs*, it would be full as reaſonable; ſince I am ſure they have at leaſt as much to do with *non-jurors* as we. But our objections againſt the *whigs* are built upon their conſtant practice for many years, whereof I have produced an hundred inſtances, againſt any ſingle one of which no anſwer hath yet been attempted, altho' I have been curious enough to look into all the papers I could meet with, that are written againſt the *Examiner*; ſuch a taſk as, I hope, no man thinks I would undergo for any other end but that of finding an opportunity to own and rectify my miſtakes; as I would be ready to do upon the call of the meaneſt adverſary. Upon which occaſion I ſhall take leave to add a few words.

I flattered myſelf laſt Thurſday, from the nature of my ſubject, and the inoffenſive manner I handled it, that I ſhould have one week's reſpite from thoſe mercileſs pens, whoſe ſeverity will ſome time break my heart: but I am deceived, and find them more violent than ever. They charge me with two *lies* and a *blunder*. The firſt *lie* is a truth, that Guiſcard was invited over; but it is of no conſequence. I do not tax it as a fault; ſuch ſort of men have often been ſerviceable: I only blamed the indiſcretion of raiſing a profligate Abbot, at the firſt ſtep, to a Lieutenant-General and Colonel of a regiment of horſe without ſtaying ſome reaſonable time, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, until he had given ſome proofs of his fidelity, as well as of that intereſt and credit he pretended to have in his country. But that is ſaid to be another lie; for he was a *papiſt*, and could not have a regiment: however, this other lie is a truth too; for a regiment he had, and paid by us, to his agent, Monſieur le Bas, for his uſe. The third is a *blunder*; that I ſay Guiſcard's deſign was againſt Mr Secretary St John, and yet my rea-

ſonings upon it are, as if it were perſonally againſt Mr Harley. But I ſay no ſuch thing, and my reaſonings are juſt. I relate only what Guiſcard ſaid in Newgate, becauſe it was a particularity the reader might be curious to know (and accordingly it lies in a paragraph by itſelf, after my reflections); but I never meant to be anſwerable for what Guiſcard ſaid, or thought it of weight enough for me to draw concluſions from thence, when I had the addreſs of both houſes to direct me better; where it is expreſsly ſaid, "that Mr Harley's fidelity to her Majeſty, "and zeal for her ſervice, have drawn upon him the "hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction." This is what I believe, and what I ſhall ſtick to.

BUT alas! theſe are not the paſſages which have raiſed ſo much fury againſt me. One or two miſtakes in facts of no importance, or a ſingle blunder, would not have provoked them; they are not ſo tender of my reputation as a writer. All their outrage is occaſioned by thoſe paſſages in that paper, which they do not in the leaſt pretend to anſwer, and with the utmoſt reluctancy are forced to mention. They take abundance of pains to clear Guiſcard from a deſign againſt Mr Harley's life: but offer not one argument to clear their other friends, who, in the buſineſs of Greg, were equally guilty of the "ſame deſign againſt the ſame perſon; whoſe tongues "were very ſwords, and whoſe penknives were axes."

No 34. Thurſday, March 29. 1711.

——*Sunt hic etiam ſua præmia laudi;*
Sunt lachrymæ rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.

I BEGIN to be heartily weary of my employment as *Examiner*; which I wiſh the miniſtry would conſider with half ſo much concern as I do, and aſſign me ſome other with leſs pains, and a penſion. There may ſoon be a vacancy either on the bench, in the revenue, or the army, and I am equally qualified for each; but this trade of examining, I apprehend, may at one time or other go near to ſour my temper. I did lately propoſe, that ſome

ſome of thoſe *ingenious* pens, which are engaged on the other ſide, might be employed to ſucceed me; and I undertook to bring them over for *t'other crown*: but it was anſwered, that thoſe gentlemen do much better ſervice in the ſtations where they are. It was added, that abundance of abuſes yet remained to be laid open to the world, which I had often promiſed to do, but was too much diverted by other ſubjects that came into my head. On the other ſide, the advice of ſome friends and the threats of many enemies have put me upon conſidering, what would become of me, *if times ſhould alter*: this I have done very maturely, and the reſult is, that I am in no manner of pain. I grant, that what I have ſaid upon occaſion, concerning the late men in power, may be called ſatire by ſome unthinking people, as long as that faction is down; but if ever they come into play again, I muſt give them warning before-hand, that I ſhall expect to be a *favourite*, and that thoſe pretended advocates of theirs will be pilloried for *libellers*. For I appeal to any man, whether I ever charged that party, or its leaders, with one ſingle action or deſign, which (if we may judge by their former practices) they will not openly profeſs, be proud of, and ſcore up for merit, when they come again to the head of affairs? I ſaid, they were inſolent to the Queen: will they not value themſelves upon that, as an argument to prove them bold aſſertors of the people's liberty? I affirmed, they were againſt a peace: will they be angry with me for ſetting forth the refinements of their politics, in purſuing the only method left to preſerve them in power? I ſaid, they had involved the nation in debts, and engroſſed much of its money: they go beyond me, and boaſt they have got it all, and the credit too. I have urged the probability of their intending great alterations in religion and government: if they deſtroy both at their next coming, will they not reckon my foretelling it rather as a panegyric than an affront? I ſaid, they had formerly a deſign againſt Mr Harley's life *: if they were now in power, would they not immediately cut off his head, and thank me for juſtifying the ſincerity of their intentions? In ſhort, there

* See *The Examiner*, No 32.

is nothing I ever ſaid of thoſe worthy patriots, which may not be as well excuſed: therefore, as ſoon as they reſume their places, I poſitively deſign to put in my claim; and, I think, may do it with a better grace than many of that party, who now make their court to the preſent miniſtry. I know two or three great men, at whoſe levees you may daily obſerve a ſcore of the moſt forward faces, which every body is aſhamed of, except thoſe who wear them. But I conceive, my pretenſions will be upon a very different foot. Let me offer a parallel caſe: ſuppoſe K. Charles I. had entirely ſubdued the rebels at Naſeby, and reduced the kingdom to his obedience; whoever had gone about to reaſon from the former conduct of theſe ſaints that if the victory had fallen on their ſide, they would have murdered their Prince deſtroyed monarchy and the church, and made the King's party compound for their eſtates as delinquents, would have been called a falſe uncharitable libeller by thoſe very perſons. who afterwards gloried in all this, and called it the *work of the Lord*, when they happened to ſucceed. I remember there was a perſon fined and impriſoned for *ſcandalum magnatum*, becauſe he ſaid the Duke of York was a papiſt: but when that Prince came to be King, and made open profeſſion of his religion, he had the juſtice immediately to releaſe his priſoner, who in his opinion had put a compliment upon him, and not a reproach: and therefore Colonel Titus, who had warmly aſſerted the ſame thing in parliament, was made a Privy Counſellor.

By this rule, if that, which for ſome politic reaſons is now called ſcandal upon the late miniſtry, proves one day to be only an abſtract of ſuch a character as they will aſſume and be proud of, I think I may fairly offer my pretenſions, and hope for their favour: and I am the more confirmed in this notion, by what I have obſerved in thoſe papers that come out weekly againſt the Examiner. The authors are perpetually telling me of my ingratitude to my maſters; that I blunder, and betray the cauſe; and write with more bitterneſs againſt thoſe who hire me, than againſt the whigs. Now I took all this at firſt only for ſo many ſtrains of wit, and pretty paradoxes to divert the reader; but upon further thinking, I find they

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are serious. I imagined I had complimented the present ministry for their [illegible] behaviour to the Queen, for their love of the old constitution in church and state, for their generosity and justice, and for their desire of a speedy honourable peace: but it seems I am mistaken, and they reckon all this for satire, because it is directly contrary to the practice of all those whom they [illegible] to defend, and utterly against all their notions of a good ministry. Therefore I cannot but think they have reason on their side: for, suppose I should write the character of an honest, a religious, and a learned man, and send the first to Newgate, the second to the Grecian Coffee-house, and the last to White's; would they not all pass for satires, and justly enough, among the companies to whom they were sent?

HAVING therefore employed several papers in such sort of panegyrics, and but very few on what they understand to be satires, I shall henceforth upon occasion be more liberal of the latter; of which they are like to have a taste in the remainder of this present paper.

AMONG all the advantages which the kingdom hath received by the late change of ministry, the greatest must be allowed to be the calling of the present parliament upon the dissolution of the last. It is acknowledged, that this excellent assembly hath entirely recovered the honour of parliaments, which had been unhappily prostituted for some years past by the factious proceedings of an unnatural majority in concert with a most corrupt administration. It is plain by the present choice of members, that the electors of England, when left to themselves, do rightly understand their true interest. The moderate *whigs* begin to be convinced, that we have been all this while in wrong hands and that things are now as they should be. And that as the present house of Commons is the best representative of the nation that have ever been summoned in our memories, so they have taken care in their first session, by that noble [illegible]*, that future parliaments should be composed of [illegible] men, and our properties [illegible] of those who have

[illegible] none

* *The qualification required by this act is some estate in land, either in possession or certain reversion.* See No 44.

none themſelves, or at leaſt only what is tranſient or imaginary. If there be any gratitude in poſterity, the memory of this aſſembly will be always celebrated; if otherwiſe, at leaſt we, who ſhare in the bleſſings they derive to us, ought with grateful hearts to acknowledge them

I deſign in ſome following papers to draw up a liſt (for I can do no more) of the great things this parliament hath already performed; the many abuſes they have detected; their juſtice in deciding elections without regard to party; their chearfulneſs and addreſs in raiſing ſupplies for the war, and at the ſame time providing for the nation's debts; their duty to the Queen, and their kindneſs to the church. In the mean time I cannot forbear mentioning two particulars, which in my opinion do diſcover, in ſome meaſure, the temper of the preſent parliament, and bear analogy to thoſe paſſages related by Plutarch in the lives of certain great men; which, as himſelf obſerveth, "altho' they be not of actions which make any great "noiſe or figure in hiſtory, yet give more light into the "characters of perſons, than we could receive from an "account of their moſt renowned atchievements."

SOMETHING like this may be obſerved from two late inſtances of *decency* and *good nature* in that illuſtrious aſſembly I am ſpeaking of. The firſt was, when after that inhuman attempt upon Mr Harley they were pleaſed to vote an addreſs to the Queen, wherein they expreſs their utmoſt deteſtation of the fact, their high eſteem and great concern for that able miniſter, and juſtly impute his misfortunes to that zeal for her Majeſty's ſervice, which had *drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction*. I dare affirm, that ſo diſtinguiſhing a mark of honour and good will from ſuch a parliament was more acceptable to a perſon of Mr Harley's generous nature, than the moſt *bountiful grant* that was ever yet made to a ſubject; as her Majeſty's anſwer, filled with gracious expreſſions in his favour, adds more to his *real glory*, than any *titles* ſhe could beſtow. The Prince and repreſentatives of the whole kingdom join in their concern for ſo important a life: theſe are the true rewards of virtue; and this is the commerce between noble ſpirits in a coin which the *giver* knows where to beſtow, and the receiver

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how to value, altho' neither *avarice* nor *ambition* would be able to comprehend its worth.

THE other inſtance I intend to produce of *decency* and *good nature* in the preſent houſe of Commons, relates to their moſt worthy ſpeaker *; who having unfortunately loſt his eldeſt ſon, the aſſembly moved with a generous pity for ſo ſenſible an affliction adjourned themſelves for a week, that ſo good a ſervant of the public might have ſome interval to wipe away a father's tears. And indeed that gentleman hath too juſt an occaſion for his grief by the death of a ſon, who had already acquired ſo great a reputation for every amiable quality, and who might have lived to be ſo great an honour and an ornament to his ancient family.

BEFORE I conclude, I muſt deſire one favour of the reader; that when he thinks it worth his while to peruſe any paper written againſt the *Examiner*, he will not form his judgment by any mangled quotation out of it, which he finds in ſuch papers, but be ſo juſt to read the paragraph referred to; which I am confident will be found a ſufficient anſwer to all that ever thoſe papers can object: at leaſt I have ſeen above fifty of them, and never yet obſerved one ſingle quotation tranſcribed with common candor.

N° 35. Thurſday, April 5. 1711.

Nullo ſuo peccato impediantur, quo minus alterius peccata demonſtrare poſſint.

I HAVE been conſidering the old conſtitution of this kingdom; comparing it with the monarchies and republics whereof we meet ſo many accounts in ancient ſtory, and with thoſe at preſent in moſt parts of Europe. I have conſidered our religion, eſtabliſhed here by the legiſlature ſoon after the reformation. I have likewiſe examined the genius and diſpoſition of the people under that reaſonable freedom they poſſeſs. Then I have turn-

* William Bromley, Eſq;

ed my reflexions upon thoſe two great diviſions of *whig* and *tory* (which ſome way or other take in the whole kingdom) with the principles they both profeſs, as well as thoſe wherewith they reproach one another. From all this I endeavour to determine from which ſide her preſent Majeſty may reaſonably hope for moſt ſecurity to her perſon and government; and to which ſhe ought in prudence to truſt the adminiſtration of her affairs. If theſe two rivals were really no more than *parties*, according to the common acceptation of the word, I ſhould agree with thoſe politicians, who think a Prince deſcends from his dignity by putting himſelf at the head of either; and that his wiſeſt courſe is to keep them in a balance, raiſing or depreſſing either as it beſt ſuits with his deſigns. But when the viſible intereſt of his crown and kingdom lies on one ſide; and when the other is but a *faction*, raiſed and ſtrengthened by incidents and intrigues, and by deceiving the people with falſe repreſentations of things; he ought in prudence to take the firſt opportunity of opening his ſubjects eyes, and declaring himſelf in favour of thoſe who are for preſerving the civil and religious rights of the nation, wherewith his own are ſo interwoven.

THIS was certainly our caſe: for I do not take the heads, advocates, and followers of the *whigs* to make up ſtrictly ſpeaking a *national party*; being patched up of heterogeneous, inconſiſtent parts, whom nothing ſerved to unite, but the common intereſt of ſharing in the ſpoil and plunder of the people; their preſent dread of their adverſaries, by whom they apprehended to be called to an account; and that general conſpiracy of endeavouring to overturn the church and ſtate, which however if they could have compaſſed, they would certainly have fallen out among themſelves, and broke in pieces, as *their predeceſſors* did after they deſtroyed the monarchy and religion. For how could a *whig*, who is againſt all diſcipline, agree with a *Preſbyterian*, who carries it higher than the *papiſts* themſelves? How could a *Socinian* adjuſt his models to either? or how could any of theſe cement with a *Deiſt*, or *Freethinker*, when they came to conſult upon points of faith? Neither would they have agreed better in their ſyſtems of government; where ſome would

would have been for a King under the limitations of a Duke of Venice: others for a Dutch republic; a third party for an Ariſtocracy; and moſt of all for ſome new fabric of their own contriving.

BUT however, let us conſider them as a *party*, and under thoſe general tenets wherein they agreed, and which they publicly owned, without charging them with any that they pretend to deny Then, let us *examine* thoſe principles of the *tories*, which their adverſaries allow them to profeſs, and do not pretend to tax them with any actions contrary to thoſe profeſſions: after which let the reader judge, from which of theſe two parties a Prince hath moſt to fear; and whether her Majeſty did not conſider the eaſe, the ſafety, and dignity of her perſon, the ſecurity of her crown, and the tranſmiſſion of monarchy to her proteſtant ſucceſſors, when ſhe put her affairs into the preſent hands.

SUPPOSE the matter were not entire; the Queen to make her choice; and for that end, ſhould order the principles on both ſides to be fairly laid before her. Firſt, I conceive, the *whigs* would grant, that they have naturally no very great veneration for *crowned heads*; that they allow the perſon of the Prince may, upon many occaſions, be reſiſted by arms; and that they do not condemn the war raiſed againſt K. Charles I. or own it to be a rebellion, altho' they would be thought to blame his murder. They do not think the *prerogative* to be yet ſufficiently limited; and have therefore taken care (as a particular mark of their veneration for the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover) to clip it ſtill cloſer againſt the next reign; which conſequently they would be glad to ſee done in the preſent: not to mention, that the majority of them, if it were put to the vote, would allow that they prefer a commonwealth before a monarchy. As to *religion*; their univerſal undiſputed maxim is, that it ought to make no diſtinction at all among *proteſtants*; and in the word *proteſtant* they include *every body* who is not a *papiſt*, and who will by an oath give ſecurity to the government. Union in diſcipline and doctrine, the offenſive ſin of ſchiſm, the notion of a church and a hierarchy, they laugh at as foppery, cant, and prieſtcraft.

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They ſee no neceſſity at all that there ſhould be a national faith; and what we uſually call by that name, they only ſtyle the *religion of the magiſtrate**. Since the diſſenters and we agree in the main, why ſhould the difference of a few ſpeculative points or modes of dreſs incapacitate them from ſerving their Prince and country in a juncture, when we ought to have all hands up againſt the common enemy? and why ſhould they be forced to take the ſacrament from our clergy's hands, and in our poſture; or indeed why compelled to receive it at all, when they take an employment which has nothing to do with religion?

THESE are the notions which moſt of that party avow, and which they do not endeavour to diſguiſe or ſet off with falſe colours, or complain of being miſrepreſented about. I have here placed them on purpoſe in the ſame light, which themſelves do in the very apologies they make for what we accuſe them of; and how inviting even theſe doctrines are for ſuch a monarch to cloſe with, as our law, both ſtatute and common, underſtands a King of England to be, let others decide. But then, if to theſe we ſhould add other opinions, which moſt of their own writers juſtify, and which their univerſal practice hath given a ſanction to; they are no more than what a Prince might reaſonably expect, as the natural conſequence of thoſe avowed principles. For when ſuch perſons are at the head of affairs, the low opinion they have of princes will certainly lead them to violate that reſpect they ought to bear; and at the ſame time, their own want of duty to their ſovereign is largely made up, by exacting greater ſubmiſſions to themſelves from their fellow-ſubjects: it being indiſputably true, that the ſame principle of pride and ambition makes a man treat his equals with inſolence, in the ſame proportion as he affronts his ſuperiors; as both Prince and people have ſufficiently felt from the late miniſtry.

THEN, from their confeſſed notions of religion as above related, I ſee no reaſon to wonder, why they countenanced not only all ſorts of diſſenters, but the ſeveral *gradations* of *Free-thinkers* among us (all which are o-

* See *Letter on the teſt*, vol. 3. p. 222.

penly enrolled in their party; nor why they were so very averse from the present established form of worship, which by prescribing obedience to princes from the topic of conscience would be sure to thwart all their schemes of innovation.

ONE thing I might add, as another acknowledged maxim in that party, and in my opinion as dangerous to the constitution as any I have mentioned; I mean, that of preferring on all occasions the *monied* interest before the *landed*; which they were so far from denying, that they would gravely debate the reasonableness and justice of it; and at the rate they went on, might in a little time have found a majority of representatives fitly qualified to lay those heavy burdens on the rest of the nation, which themselves would not touch with one of their fingers.

HOWEVER, to deal impartially, there are some motives, which might compel a Prince under the necessity of affairs to deliver himself over to that party. They were *said* to possess the great bulk of cash, and consequently of credit in the nation; and the heads of them had the reputation of presiding over those societies, who have the great direction of both: so that all applications for loans to the public service, upon any emergency, must be made through them; and it might prove highly dangerous to disoblige them, because in that case it was not to be doubted, that they would be obstinate and malicious, ready to obstruct all affairs, not only by shutting their own purses, but by endeavouring to sink *credit*, altho' with some present imaginary loss to themselves, only to shew it was a *creature* of their own.

FROM this summary of *whig principles* and dispositions we find, what a Prince may reasonably fear and hope from that party. Let us now very briefly consider the doctrines of the *tories*, which their adversaries will not dispute. As they prefer a well regulated monarchy before all other forms of government, so they think it next to impossible to alter that institution here, without involving our whole island in blood and desolation. They believe, that the prerogative of a sovereign ought at least to be held as sacred and inviolable as the rights of his people; if only for this reason, because without a due *share of power* he will not be able to protect them. They think,

think, that by many known laws of this realm, both ſtatute and common, neither the perſon nor lawful authority of the Prince ought, upon any pretence whatſoever, to be reſiſted or diſobeyed. Their ſentiments in relation to the church are known enough, and will not be controverted, being juſt the reverſe to what I have delivered as the doctrine and practice of the *whigs* upon that article.

BUT here I muſt likewiſe deal impartially too; and add one principle as a characteriſtic of the *tories*, which hath much diſcouraged ſome Princes from making uſe of them in affairs. Give the *whigs* but power enough to inſult their ſovereign, engroſs his favours to themſelves, and to oppreſs and plunder their fellow ſubjects; they preſently grow into good humour and good language towards the crown; profeſs they will ſtand by it with their lives and fortunes; and whatever rudeneſſes they may be guilty of in private, yet they aſſure the world that there never was ſo gracious a monarch. But to the ſhame of the *tories* it muſt be confeſſed, that nothing of all this hath been ever obſerved in them; in or out of favour, you ſee no alteration, farther than a little chearfulneſs or cloud in their countenances: the higheſt employments can add nothing to their loyalty; but their behaviour to their Prince, as well as their expreſſions of love and duty, are in all conditions exactly the ſame.

HAVING thus impartially ſtated the avowed principles of *whig* and *tory*; let the reader determine as he pleaſeth, to which of theſe two a wiſe Prince may, with moſt ſafety to himſelf and the public, truſt his perſon and his affairs; and whether it were raſhneſs or prudence in her Majeſty to make thoſe changes in the miniſtry, which have been ſo highly extolled by ſome, and condemned by others.

N° 36.

No 36. Thurſday, April 12. 1711.

Tres ſpecies tam diſſimiles, tria talia texta,
Una dies dedit exitio———

I WRITE this paper for the ſake of the *diſſenters*, whom I take to be the moſt ſpreading branch of the *whig party*, that *profeſſeth Chriſtianity*; and the only one that ſeems to be zealous for any particular ſyſtem of it; the bulk of thoſe we call the *low church* being generally indifferent and undetermined in that point, and the other ſubdiviſions having not yet taken either the Old or New Teſtament into their ſcheme. By the *diſſenters* therefore it will eaſily be underſtood that I mean the *preſbyterians*, as they include the ſects of *anabaptiſts*, *independents*, and others, which have been melted down into them ſince the *reſtoration*. This ſect, in order to make itſelf national, having gone ſo far as to raiſe a rebellion, murder their King, deſtroy monarchy and the church, was afterwards broken in pieces by its own diviſions; which made way for the King's return from his exile. However the zealous among them did ſtill entertain hopes of recovering the *dominion of grace*; whereof I have read a remarkable paſſage in a book publiſhed about the year 1661 and written by one of their own ſide. As one of the regicides was going to his execution, a friend aſked him, "whether he thought the cauſe would revive?" He anſwered, "The cauſe is in the boſom of Chriſt; and as "ſure as Chriſt roſe from the dead, ſo ſure will the "cauſe revive alſo." And therefore the *Nonconformiſts* were ſtrictly watched, and reſtrained by penal laws, during the reign of K. Charles II. the court and kingdom looking on them as a *faction* ready to join in any deſign againſt the government in church or ſtate. And ſurely this was reaſonable enough, while ſo many continued alive who had voted, and fought, and preached againſt both, and gave no proof that they had changed their principles. The *Nonconformiſts* were then exactly upon the ſame foot with our *Nonjurors* now, whom we do *tax, forbid their* conventicles, and keep up

without thinking ourſelves poſſeſſed with a perſecuting ſpirit; becauſe we know they want nothing but the power to ruin us. This, in my opinion, ſhould altogether ſilence the *Diſſenters* complaints of perſecution under K. Charles II. or make them ſhew us wherein they differed at that time, from what our *Jacobites* are now.

THEIR inclinations to the church were ſoon diſcovered, when K. James II. ſucceeded to the crown, with whom they unanimouſly joined in its ruin to revenge themſelves for that reſtraint, they had moſt juſtly ſuffered in the foregoing reign, not from the perſecuting temper of the clergy, as their clamours would ſuggeſt, but the prudence and caution of the legiſlature. The ſame indulgence againſt law was made uſe of by them and the *Papiſts*; and they amicably employed their power, as in defence of one common intereſt.

BUT the revolution happening ſoon after ſerved to waſh away the memory of the rebellion; upon which the run againſt *Popery* was no doubt as juſt and ſeaſonable, as that of *fanaticiſm* after the reſtoration: and the dread of *Popery* being then our lateſt danger, and conſequently the moſt freſh upon our ſpirits, all mouths were open againſt that; the *Diſſenters* were rewarded with an indulgence by law; the rebellion and King's murder were now no longer a reproach; the former was only a civil war, and whoever durſt call it a *rebellion* was a *Jacobite* and *friend* to France. This was the more unexpected, becauſe the revolution being wholly brought about by church of England hands, they hoped one good conſequence of it would be the relieving us from the encroachments of *Diſſenters*, as well as thoſe of *Papiſts*; ſince both had equally confederated towards our ruin: and therefore, when the crown was new ſettled, it was hoped at leaſt, that the reſt of the conſtitution would be reſtored. But this affair took a very different turn: the *Diſſenters* had juſt made a ſhift to ſave a tide, and join with the Prince of Orange, when they found all was deſperate with their *Protector* K. James; and obſerving a party then forming againſt the old principles in church and ſtate, under the name of *whigs* and *low-churchmen*, they liſted themſelves of it, where they have ever ſince continued.

IT is therefore, upon the foot they now are, that I would

would apply myſelf to them, and deſire they would conſider the different circumſtances at preſent, from what they were under, when they began their deſigns againſt the church and monarchy about ſeventy years ago. At that juncture they made up the body of the party; and whoſoever joined with them from principles of revenge, diſcontent, ambition, or love of change, were all forced to ſhelter under their denomination; united heartily in the pretences of a further and purer reformation in religion, and of advancing the *great work* (as the *cant* was then) *that God was about to do in theſe nations*; received the ſyſtems of doctrine and diſcipline preſcribed by the Scots, and readily took the *covenant*; ſo that there appeared no diviſion among them, till after the common enemy was ſubdued.

BUT now their caſe is quite otherways; and I can hardly think it worth being of a *party*, upon the terms they have been received of late years. For ſuppoſe the whole *faction* ſhould at length ſucceed in their deſign of deſtroying the church; are they ſo weak to imagine, that the new modelling of religion would be put into their hands? Would their brethren, the *low-churchmen* and *free-thinkers*, ſubmit to their *diſcipline*, their *ſynods*, or their *claſſes*; and divide the lands of biſhops, or deans and chapters, among them? How can they help obſerving, that their allies, inſtead of pretending more ſanctity than other men, are ſome of them for levelling all religion; and the reſt for aboliſhing it? Is it not manifeſt, that they have been treated by their confederates exactly after the ſame manner as they were by K. James II. made inſtruments to ruin the church: not for their own ſakes, but under a pretended project of univerſal freedom in opinion to advance the dark deſigns of thoſe who employ them? For, excepting the *antimonarchical principle*, and a few falſe notions about *liberty*, I ſee but little agreement betwixt them: and even in theſe, I believe, it would be impoſſible to contrive a frame of government that would pleaſe them all, if they had it now in their power to try. But however, to be ſure, the *preſbyterian* inſtitution would never obtain. For ſuppoſe they ſhould, in imitation of their predeceſſors, propoſe to have no *King but our Saviour* CHRIST; the whole clan of free-

thinkers would immediately object and refuse his authority. Neither would their *low-church* brethren use them better, as well knowing what enemies they are to that doctrine of unlimited toleration, wherever they are suffered to preside. So that upon the whole I do not see, as their present circumstances stand, where the *dissenters* can find better quarter than from the church of England.

BESIDES, I leave it to their consideration, whether, with all their zeal against the church, they ought not to shew a little decency; and how far it consists with their reputation to act in concert with such confederates. It was reckoned a very infamous proceeding in the present Most Christian King * to assist the Turk against the Emperor: policy and reasons of state were not allowed sufficient excuses for taking part with an *infidel* against a *believer*. It is one of the *dissenters* quarrels against the church, that she is not enough reformed from *popery*: yet they boldly entered into a league with *Papists* and a *Popish Prince* to destroy her. They profess much sanctity, and object against the wicked lives of some of our members; yet they have been long, and still continue, in strict combination with *libertines* and *atheists*, to contrive our ruin. What if the Jews should multiply, and become a formidable part among us? Would the *dissenters* join in alliance with them likewise, because they agree already in some general principles, and because the Jews are allowed to be a *stiff-necked* and *rebellious people*?

IT is the part of wise men to conceal their passions, when they are not in circumstances of exerting them to purpose: the arts of getting power, and preserving indulgence, are very different. For the former, the reasonable hopes of the *dissenters* seem to be at an end; their comrades, the *whigs* and *free-thinkers*, are just in a condition proper to be forsaken; and the parliament, as well as the body of the people, will be deluded no longer. Besides, it sometimes happens for a cause to be exhausted and worn out, as that of the *whigs* in general seems at present to be: the nation had felt enough of it. It is as vain to hope restoring that decayed interest, as for a man of sixty to talk of entering on a new scene of life,

* Lewis XIV. King of France.

life, that is only proper for youth and vigour. New circumſtances and new men muſt ariſe, as well as new occaſions, which are not like to happen in our time. So that the *diſſenters* have no game left at preſent, but to ſecure their *indulgence*: in order to which, I will be ſo bold to offer them ſome advice.

Firſt: That until ſome late proceedings are a little forgot, they would take care not to provoke, by any violence of tongue or pen, ſo great a majority as there is now againſt them; nor keep up any longer that combination with their broken allies; but diſperſe themſelves, and lie dormant againſt ſome better opportunity. I have ſhewn they could have got no advantage, if the late party had prevailed; and they will certainly loſe none by its fall, unleſs thro' their own fault. They pretend a mighty veneration for the Queen; let them give proof of it by quitting the ruined intereſt of thoſe, who have uſed her ſo ill; and by a due reſpect to the perſons ſhe is pleaſed to truſt at preſent with her affairs. When they can no longer hope to govern, when ſtruggling can do them no good, and may poſſibly hurt them; what is left, but to be ſilent and paſſive?

Secondly, Altho' there be no law (beſides that of God almighty) againſt *occaſional conformity*, it would be prudence in the *diſſenters* to uſe it as tenderly as they can: for beſides the infamous hypocriſy of the thing itſelf, too frequent practice would perhaps make a remedy neceſſary. And after all they have ſaid to juſtify themſelves in this point, it ſtill continues hard to conceive, how thoſe conſciences can pretend to be ſcrupulous, upon which an employment hath more power than the love of unity.

In the *laſt place*, I am humbly of opinion, that the *diſſenters* would do well to drop that *leſſon* they have learned from their directors, of affecting to be under horrible apprehenſions, that the *tories* are in the intereſt of the *Pretender*, and would be ready to embrace the firſt opportunity of inviting him over. It is with the worſt grace in the world that they offer to join in the cry upon this article: as if thoſe, who alone ſtood in the gap againſt all the encroachments of *popery* and *arbitrary*, are not more likely to keep out both

ſchiſmatics, who to gratify their ambition and revenge, did, by the meaneſt compliances, encourage and ſpirit up that unfortunate Prince to fall upon ſuch meaſures, as muſt at laſt have ended in the ruin of our liberty and religion.

P. S. I wiſh thoſe, who give themſelves the trouble to write to the Examiner, would conſider whether what they ſend be proper for ſuch a paper to take notice of. I had one letter laſt week, written, as I ſuppoſe, by a divine, to deſire I would offer ſome reaſons againſt a bill now before the parliament for *aſcertaining the tythe of hops*; from which the writer apprehends great damage to the clergy, eſpecially the poorer *vicars*. If it be as he ſays (and he ſeems to argue very reaſonably upon it) the *convocation* now ſitting will, no doubt, upon due application, repreſent the matter to the houſe of Commons; and he may expect all juſtice and favour from that *great body*, who have already appeared ſo tender of their *rights*.

A gentleman likewiſe, who hath ſent me ſeveral letters relating to perſonal hardſhips he received from ſome of the late miniſtry, is adviſed to publiſh a narrative of them, they being too large, and not proper for this paper.

No 37. Thurſday, April 19. 1711.

Semper cauſæ eventorum magis movent quam ipſa eventa.

I AM glad to obſerve that ſeveral among the *whigs* have begun very much to change their language of late. The ſtyle is now among the reaſonable part of them, when they meet a man in buſineſs, or a member of parliament; 'Well, gentlemen, if you go on as you 'have hitherto done, we ſhall no longer have any pre-'tence to complain.' They find, it ſeems, that there have been yet no overtures made to bring in the *Pretender*, nor any preparatory ſteps towards it. They read no enſlaving votes, nor bills brought in to endanger the ſubject. The

indulgence to ſcrupulous conſciences is again confirmed from the throne, inviolably preſerved, and not the leaſt whiſper offered that may affect it. All care is taken to ſupport the war; ſupplies chearfully granted, and funds readily ſubſcribed to, in ſpite of the little arts made uſe of to diſcredit them. The juſt reſentments of ſome, which are laudable in themſelves, and which at another juncture it might be proper to give way to, have been ſoftened or diverted by the calmneſs of others. So that upon the article of preſent management, I do not ſee how any objection of weight can well be raiſed.

HOWEVER, our adverſaries ſtill alledge, that this great ſucceſs was wholly unexpected, and out of all probable view: that in public affairs we ought leaſt of all others to judge by events: that the attempt of changing a miniſtry, during the difficulties of a long war, was raſh and inconſiderate: that if the Queen were diſpoſed, by her inclinations, or from any perſonal diſlike, for ſuch a change, it might have been done with more ſafety in a time of peace; that if it had miſcarried by any of thoſe incidents, which in all appearance might have intervened, the conſequences would perhaps have ruined the whole confederacy: and therefore, however it hath now ſucceeded, the experiment wa too dangerous to try.

BUT this is what we can by no means allow them. We never will admit raſhneſs or chance to have produced all this harmony and order. It is viſible to the *world*, that the ſeveral ſteps towards this change were ſlowly taken, and with the utmoſt caution. The *movers* obſerved as they went on, how matters would bear; and advanced no farther at firſt, than ſo as they might be able to ſtop or go back, if circumſtances were not mature. Things were grown to ſuch a height, that it was no longer the queſtion, whether a perſon, who aimed at an employment, were a *whig* or *tory*; much leſs whether he had merit, or proper abilities, for what he pretended to: he muſt owe his preferment only to the favourites; and the crown was ſo far from *nominative*, that they would not allow it a *negative*. This the Queen was reſolved no longer to endure; and began to break into their *preſcription*, by beſtowing one or two places of conſequence without *conſulting* her *ſphori*, after they had tired them

for others, and concluded as uſual, that all their buſineſs was to ſignify their pleaſure to her Majeſty. But altho' the perſons the Queen had choſen were ſuch, as no objection could well be raiſed againſt upon the ſcore of party, yet the *oligarchy* took the alarm; their ſovereign authority was it ſeems called in queſtion; they grew into anger and diſcontent, as if their undoubted rights were violated. All former obligations to their ſovereign now became cancelled; and they put themſelves upon the foot of people, who are hardly uſed after the moſt eminent ſervices.

I believe all men, who know any thing in politics, will agree, that a Prince thus treated by thoſe he hath moſt confided in, and perpetually loaded with his favours, ought to extricate himſelf as ſoon as poſſible; and is then only blameable in his choice of time, when he defers one minute after it is in his power; becauſe from the monſtrous encroachments of exorbitant avarice and ambition he cannot tell how long it may continue to be ſo And it will be found upon enquiring into hiſtory that moſt of thoſe Princes, who have been ruined by favourites, have owed their misfortune to the neglect of earlier remedies; deferring to ſtruggle, until they were quite ſunk.

THE *whigs* are every day curſing the ungovernable rage, the haughty pride, and inſatiable covetouſneſs of a *certain perſon*, as the cauſe of their fall; and are apt to tell their thoughts, that *one ſingle removal* might have ſet all things right. But the intereſts of that *ſingle perſon* were found upon experience ſo complicated and woven with the reſt by *love*, by *awe*, by *marriage*, by *alliance*, that they would rather confound heaven and earth, than diſſolve ſuch an union.

I have always heard and underſtood, that a King of England poſſeſſed of his people's hearts, at the head of a free parliament, and in full agreement with a great majority, made the true figure in the world that ſuch a monarch ought to do; and purſued the real intereſt of himſelf and his kingdom. Will they allow her Majeſty to be in thoſe circumſtances at preſent; and was it not plain by the addreſſes ſent from all parts of the iſland, and by the viſible diſpoſition of the people, that ſuch a parliament would undoubtedly be choſen? And ſo it

proved,

proved, without the court's using any arts to influence elections.

WHAT people then are these in a corner, to whom the constitution must truckle? If the whole nation's credit cannot supply funds for the war, without humble applications from the entire legislature to a few *retailers* of money, it is high time we should sue for a peace. What new maxims are these, which neither we nor our forefathers ever heard of before, and which no wise institution would ever allow? Must our laws from henceforward pass the Bank aand East-India company, or have their *royal assent* before they are in force?

To hear some of these worthy reasoners talking of *credit*, that she is so nice, so squeamish, so capricious, you would think they were describing a Lady troubled with vapours, or the cholic, to be removed only by a *course of steel*, or *swallowing a bullet*. By the narrowness of their thoughts one would imagine, they conceived the world to be no wider than Exchange-alley. It is probable *they* may have such a sickly dame among them; and it is well if she hath no worse diseases, considering what hands she passes thro'. But the *National Credit* is of another complexion; of sound health, and an even temper; her life and existence being a quintessence drawn from the vitals of the whole kingdom: and we find these *money politicians*, after all their noise, to be of the same opinion by the court they paid her, when she lately appeared to them in the form of a *lottery*.

As to that mighty error in politics they charge upon the Queen, for changing her ministry in the height of a war, I suppose it is only looked upon as an error under a *whiggish administration*; otherwise the late King had much to answer for, who did it pretty frequently. And it is well known, that the late ministry of *famous memory* was brought in during the present war; only with this circumstance, that two or three of the chief did first change their own principles, and then took in suitable companions.

BUT however, I see no reason why the *tories* should not value their wisdom by events, as well as the *whigs*. Nothing was ever thought a more precipitate, rash counsel than that of *altering the* coin at the juncture it was done.

done; yet the prudence of the undertaking was ſufficiently juſtified by the ſucceſs. Perhaps it will be ſaid, that the attempt was neceſſary, becauſe the whole ſpecies of money was ſo grievouſly clipped and counterfeit: and is not her Majeſty's authority as ſacred as her coin? And hath not that been moſt ſcandalouſly clipped and mangled, and often counterfeited too?

IT is another grievous complaint of the *whigs*, that their late friends, and the whole party are treated with abundance of ſeverity in print, and in particular by the *Examiner*. They think it hard, that when they are wholly deprived of power, hated by the people, and out of all hope of re-eſtabliſhing themſelves, their infirmities ſhould be ſo often diſplayed in order to render them yet more odious to mankind. This is what they employ their writers to ſet forth in their papers of the week; and it is humorous enough to obſerve one page taken up in railing at the *Examiner*, for his invectives againſt a diſcarded miniſtry, and the other ſide filled with the falſeſt and vileſt abuſes againſt thoſe who are now in the higheſt power and credit with their ſovereign, and whoſe leaſt breath would ſcatter them into ſilence and obſcurity. However, altho' I have indeed often wondered to ſee ſo much licentiouſneſs taken and connived at, and am ſure it would not be ſuffered in any other country of Chriſtendom; yet I never once invoked the aſſiſtance of the *goal* or *pillory*, which, upon the leaſt provocation, was the uſual ſtyle during their tyranny. There hath not paſſed a week theſe twenty years without ſome malicious paper ſcattered in every coffee-houſe by the emiſſaries of that party, whether it were *down* or *up*. I believe they will not pretend to object the ſame thing to us: nor do I remember any conſtant weekly paper with reflections on the late miniſtry or *junto*. They have many weak defenceleſs parts; they have not been uſed to a regular attack, and therefore it is that they are ſo ill able to endure one, when it comes to be their turn. So that they complain more of a few months truths from us, than we did of all their lies, and malice for twice as many years.

I cannot forbear obſerving upon this occaſion, that thoſe worthy authors I am ſpeaking of, ſeem to me not fairly to repreſent the ſentiments of their party; who in

diſputing with us do generally give up ſeveral of the late miniſtry, and freely own many of their failings. They confeſs the monſtrous *debt upon the navy* to have been cauſed by moſt ſcandalous miſmanagement; they allow the *inſolence* of *ſome*, and the *avarice* of *others*, to have been inſupportable: but theſe gentlemen are moſt liberal of their praiſes to thoſe perſons, and upon thoſe very articles, where their wiſeſt friends give up the point. They gravely tell us, that *ſuch a one* was the moſt faithful ſervant that ever any Prince had; *another*, the moſt dutiful; a *third*, the moſt generous; a *fourth*, of the greateſt integrity: ſo that I look upon theſe champions rather as retained by a *cabal* than a *party*; which I deſire the reaſonable men among them would pleaſe to conſider.

N° 38. Thurſday, April 26. 1711.

Indignum eſt in ea civitate, quæ legibus continetur, diſcedi a legibus.

I HAVE been often conſidering how it comes to paſs, that the dexterity of mankind in evil ſhould always out-grow not only the prudence and caution of private perſons, but the continual expedients of the wiſeſt laws contrived to prevent it. I cannot imagine a knave to poſſeſs a greater ſhare of natural wit or genius, than an honeſt man. I have known very notable ſharpers at play, who, upon all occaſions, were as great dunces as human ſhape can well allow; and I believe, the ſame might be obſerved among the other knots of thieves and pick-pockets about this town. The propoſition however is certainly true, and to be confirmed by an hundred inſtances. A ſcrivener, an attorney, a ſtock jobber, and many other *retatiers of fraud* ſhall not only be able to over-reach others much wiſer than themſelves, but find out new inventions to elude the force of any law made againſt them. I ſuppoſe the reaſon of this may be, that as the *aggreſſor* is ſaid to have generally the advantage of the *defender*, ſo the makers of the law which is to defend our rights, *have uſually not* ſo much induſtry or vigour as thoſe, whoſe

whoſe intereſt leads them to attack it. Beſides, it rarely happens that men are rewarded by the public for their juſtice and virtue; neither do thoſe, who act upon ſuch principles, expect any recompence until the next world: whereas fraud, where it ſucceeds, gives preſent pay; and this is allowed the greateſt ſpur imaginable both to labour and invention. When a law is made to ſtop ſome growing evil, the wits of thoſe, whoſe intereſt it is to break it with ſecrecy or impunity, are immediately at work; and even among thoſe who pretend to fairer characters, many would gladly find means to avoid what they would not be thought to violate. They deſire to reap the advantage if poſſible without the ſhame, or at leaſt without the danger. This art is what I take that dextrous race of men, ſprung up ſoon after the revolution, to have ſtudied with greater application ever ſince; and to have arrived at great perfection in. According to the doctrine of ſome Romiſh caſuiſts, they have found out *quam prope ad peccatum ſine peccato poſſint accedere*; they can tell how to go within an inch of an impeachment, and yet come back untouched. They know what degree of corruption will juſt forfeit an employment, and whether the bribe you receive be ſufficient to ſet you right, and put ſomething in your pocket beſides: how much to a penny, you may ſafely cheat the Queen, whether forty, fifty, or ſixty *per cent* according to the ſtation you are in, and the diſpoſitions of the perſons in office below and above you. They have computed the price you may ſecurely take or give for a place, or what part of the ſalary you ought to reſerve: they can diſcreetly diſtribute five hundred pounds in a ſmall borough without any danger from the ſtatutes againſt bribing elections. They can manage a bargain for an office by a third, fourth, or fifth hand; ſo that you ſhall not know whom to accuſe: they can win a thouſand guineas at play in ſpite of the dice, and ſend away the loſer ſatisfied. They can paſs the moſt exorbitant accounts, overpay the creditor with half his demands, and ſink the reſt.

It would be endleſs to relate, or rather indeed impoſſible to diſcover the ſeveral arts, which curious men have found out to enrich themſelves by defrauding the public in defiance of the law. The military men, both by ſea and

and land, have equally cultivated this moſt uſeful ſcience: neither hath it been altogether neglected by the other ſex; of which, on the contrary, I could produce an inſtance, that would make ours bluſh to be ſo far outdone.

BESIDES, to confeſs the truth, our laws themſelves are extremely defective in many articles, which I take to be one ill effect of our beſt poſſeſſion, liberty. Some years ago the Ambaſſador of a great Prince* was arreſted, and outrages committed on his perſon in our ſtreets, without any poſſibility of redreſs from Weſtminſter-hall, or the prerogative of the ſovereign; and the legiſlature was forced to provide a remedy againſt the like evils in time to come. A Commiſſioner of the ſtamped paper was lately diſcovered to have notoriouſly cheated the public of great ſums for many years, by counterfeiting the ſtamps, which the law hath made capital: but the aggravation of his crime proved to be the cauſe that ſaved his life; and that additional heightening circumſtance of betraying his truſt was found to be a legal defence. I am aſſured, that the notorious cheat of the brewers at Portſmouth, detected about two months ago in parliament, cannot, by any law now in force, be puniſhed in any degree equal to the guilt and infamy of it. Nay, what is almoſt incredible, had Guiſcard † ſurvived his deteſtable attempt upon Mr Harley's perſon, all the inflaming circumſtances of the fact would not have ſufficed, in the opinion of many lawyers, to have puniſhed him with death; and the public muſt have lain under this *dilemma*, either to condemn him by a law *ex poſt facto*, (which would have been of dangerous conſequence, and from an ignominious precedent) or undergo the mortification to ſee the greateſt villain upon earth eſcape unpuniſhed, to the infinite triumph and delight of *popery* and *faction*. But even this is not to be wondered at, when we conſider, that all the inſolences offered to the Queen ſince the act of indemnity (at leaſt that ever came to my ears) I can hardly inſtance above two or three, which by the letter of the law could amount to high treaſon.

* Peter the Great, Czar of Moſcovy.

† He died of the wounds he received. Hawkeſ.

FROM theſe defects in our laws, and the want of ſome diſcretionary power, ſafely lodged, to exert upon emergencies; as well as from the great acquirements of able men to elude the penalties of thoſe laws they break, it is no wonder that the injuries done to the public are ſo ſeldom redreſſed. But beſides, no individual ſuffers by any wrong he doth to the commonwealth, in proportion to the advantage he gains by doing it. There are ſeven or eight millions, who contribute to the loſs, while the whole gain is ſunk among a few. The damage ſuffered by the public is not ſo immediately or heavily felt by particular perſons; and the zeal of proſecution is apt to drop and be loſt among numbers.

BUT imagine a ſett of politicians for many years at the head of affairs, the game viſibly their own, and by conſequence, acting with great ſecurity; may not theſe be ſometimes tempted to forget their caution by length of time, by exceſs of avarice and ambition, by the inſolence, or violence of their nature, or perhaps by a mere contempt for their adverſaries? May not ſuch motives as theſe put them often upon actions directly againſt the law, ſuch as no evaſions can be found for, and which will lay them fully open to the vengeance of a prevailing intereſt, whenever they are out of power? It is anſwered in the affirmative. And here we cannot refuſe the late miniſtry their due praiſes; who foreſeeing a ſtorm provided for their own ſafety by two admirable expedients, by which, with great prudence, they have eſcaped the puniſhments due to pernicious counſels and corrupt management. The firſt was to procure, under pretences hardly ſpecious, a general act of indemnity, which cuts off all impeachments. The ſecond was yet more refined: ſuppoſe, for inſtance, a counſel is to be purſued, which is neceſſary to carry on the dangerous deſigns of a prevailing party, to preſerve them in power, to gratify the unmeaſurable appetites of a few leaders civil and military, altho' by hazarding the ruin of the whole nation; this counſel, deſperate in itſelf, unprecedented in its nature, they procure a majority to form into an addreſs, which makes it look like the ſenſe of the nation. Under that ſhelter they carry on the work, and lie ſecure againſt after-reckonings.

I [illegible] meaning [illegible], that among [illegible] made to the Queen [illegible] her Majesty [illegible] the entire [illegible] people abroad [illegible] of temerity, folly, and [illegible] who [illegible] the promoters of [illegible] can easily comprehend the [illegible] They were assured by this [illegible] the war upon us, consequently [illegible] their own power and wealth, and multiply [illegible] on the Queen and kingdom, until they had [illegible] party too firmly to be shaken, whenever they [illegible] themselves disposed to reverse their address, and give us leave to wish for a peace.

If any man entertains a more favourable opinion of this monstrous step in politics, I would ask him, what we must do in case we find it impossible to recover Spain? Those among the [illegible], who believe a God, will confess that the events of war lie in his hands; and the rest of them, who acknowledge no such power, will allow, that fortune hath too great a share in the good or ill success of military actions to let a wise man reason upon them, as if they were entirely in his power. If providence shall think fit to refuse success to our arms; with how ill a grace, with what shame and confusion shall we be obliged to recant that precipitate address, unless the world will be so charitable to consider, that parliaments among us differ as much as princes; and that by the fatal conjunction of many unhappy circumstances it is very possible for our island to be represented sometimes by those, who have the least pretensions. So little truth or justice there is in what some pretend to advance, that the actions of former senates ought always to be treated with respect by the latter; that those assemblies are all equally venerable, and no one to be preferred before another: by which argument the parliament that began the rebellion against K. Charles I. voted his trial, and appointed his murderers, ought to be remembered with respect.

But to return from this digression; it is very plain that considering the defectiveness of our law

ty of caſes, the weakneſs of the prerogative, the power, or the cunning of ill-deſigning men, it is poſſible that many great abuſes may be viſibly committed, which cannot be legally puniſhed; eſpecially if we add to this, that ſome enquiries might probably involve thoſe, whom, upon other accounts, it is not thought convenient to diſturb. Therefore it is very falſe reaſoning, eſpecially in the management of public affairs, to argue that men are innocent, becauſe the law hath not pronounced them guilty.

I am apt to think it was to ſupply ſuch defects as theſe, that ſatire was firſt introduced into the world; whereby thoſe, whom neither religion, nor natural virtue, nor fear of puniſhment were able to keep within the bounds of their duty, might be withheld by the ſhame of having their crimes expoſed to open view in the ſtrongeſt colours, and themſelves rendered odious to mankind. Perhaps all this may be little regarded by ſuch hardened and abandoned natures as I have to deal with; but next to taming or binding a ſavage animal, the beſt ſervice you can do the neighbourhood is to give them warning either to arm themſelves or not come in its way.

COULD I have hoped for any ſigns of remorſe from the leaders of that faction, I ſhould very gladly have changed my ſtyle, and forgot, or paſſed by their million of enormities. But they are every day more fond of diſcovering their impotent zeal and malice: witneſs their conduct in the city about a fortnight ago, which had no other end imaginable, beſides that of perplexing our affairs, and endeavouring to make things deſperate, that themſelves may be thought neceſſary. While they continue in this frantic mood I ſhall not forbear to treat them as they deſerve; that is to ſay, as the inveterate, irreconcileable enemies to our country and its conſtitution.

N° 39. Thurſday, May 3. 1711.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de ſeditione querentes?

THERE have been certain topics of reproach liberally beſtowed for ſome years paſt, by the *whigs* and *tories* upon each other. We charge the former with a deſign of deſtroying the *eſtabliſhed church*, and introducing *fanaticiſm* and *free-thinking* in its ſtead. We accuſe them as enemies to monarchy; as endeavouring to undermine the preſent form of government, and to build a commonwealth, or ſome new ſcheme of their own, upon its ruins. On the other ſide, their clamours againſt us may be ſummed up in thoſe three formidable words, *popery, arbitrary power*, and the *Pretender*. Our accuſations againſt them we endeavour to make good by certain over-acts; ſuch as their perpetually abuſing the whole body of the clergy, their declared contempt for the very order of prieſthood, their averſion againſt epiſcopacy, the public encouragement and patronage they gave to Tindal, Toland, and other atheiſtical writers; their appearing as profeſſed advocates retained by the diſſenters, excuſing their ſeparation, and laying the guilt of it to the obſtinacy of the church; their frequent endeavours to repeal the teſt, and their ſetting up the indulgence to ſcrupulous conſciences as a point of greater importance than the eſtabliſhed worſhip. The regard they bear to our monarchy hath appeared by their open ridiculing the *martyrdom* of K. Charles I. in their Calve's-head Clubs, their common diſcourſes, and their pamphlets; their denying the unnatural war raiſed againſt that Prince, to have been a rebellion; their juſtifying his murder in the allowed papers of the week; their induſtry in publiſhing and ſpreading ſeditious and republican tracts, ſuch as Ludlow's Memoirs, Sidney of Government, and many others; their endleſs lopping of the prerogative and mincing into nothing her Majeſty's titles to the crown.

WHAT proofs they bring for our endeavouring to in-

troduce *popery*, *arbitrary power*, and the *Pretender*; I cannot readily tell, and would be glad to hear; however thoſe important words having, by dextrous management been found of mighty ſervice to the cauſe, altho' applied with little colour, either of reaſon or juſtice; I have been conſidering, whether they may not be adapted to more proper objects.

As to *popery*, which is the firſt of theſe; to deal plainly, I can hardly think there is any ſett of men among us, except the profeſſors of it, who have any direct intention to introduce it here; but the queſtion is, whether the principles and practices of us, or the *whigs* be moſt likely to make way for it? It is allowed on all hands, that among the methods concerted at Rome, for bringing over England into the boſom of the catholic church, one of the chief was to ſend jeſuits, and other emiſſaries, in lay habits; who perſonating *tradeſmen* and *mechanics*, ſhould mix with the people, and under the pretence of a further and purer *reformation* endeavour to divide us into as many ſects as poſſible; which would either put us under the neceſſity of returning to our old errors to preſerve *peace* at home; or by our *diviſions* make way for ſome powerful neighbour, with the aſſiſtance of the Pope's permiſſion and a conſecrated banner, to *convert* and *enſlave* us at once. If this hath been reckoned good politics (and it was the beſt the *jeſuit ſchools* could invent) I appeal to any man, whether the *whigs*, for many years paſt, have not been employed in the very ſame work? They profeſſed on all occaſions, that they knew no reaſon why any one ſyſtem of *ſpeculative opinions* (as they term the doctrines of the church) ſhould be eſtabliſhed by law, more than another; or why employments ſhould be confined to the religion of the magiſtrate, and that called the *church eſtabliſhed*. The grand maxim they laid down was, that no man, for the ſake of a few *notions* and *ceremonies*, under the names of *doctrine* and *diſcipline*, ſhould be denied the liberty of ſerving his country: as if places would go a begging, unleſs *Browniſts*, *familiſts*, *ſweet fingers*, *quakers*, *anabaptiſts*, and *muggletonians* would take them off our hands.

I have been ſometimes imagining this ſcheme brought to perfection, and how diverting it would be to ſee half

a dozen *fweet fingers* on the bench in their ermines, and two or three *quakers* with their white ſtaves at court. I can only ſay, this project is the very counter-part of the late K. James's deſign, which he took up as the beſt method for introducing his *own religion* under the pretext of an *univerſal liberty of conſcience*, and that no difference in religion ſhould make any in his favour. Accordingly, to ſave appearances, he dealt ſome employments among *diſſenters* of moſt denominations; and what he did was no doubt in purſuance of the beſt advice he could get at home or abroad; but the church thought it the moſt dangerous ſtep he could take for her deſtruction. It is true K. James admitted *papiſts* among the reſt, which the *whigs* would not: but this is ſufficiently made up by a material circumſtance, wherein they ſeem to have much outdone that Prince, and to have carried their *liberty of conſcience* to a higher point, having granted it to all the claſſes of *free-thinkers* (which the nice conſcience of a *popiſh Prince* would not give him leave to do) and were therein mightily overſeen; becauſe it is agreed by the learned, that there is but a very narrow ſtep from *atheiſm* to the other extreme, *ſuperſtition*. So that upon the whole, whether the *whigs* had any real deſign of bringing in *popery* or no, it is very plain that they took the moſt effectual ſtep towards it; and if the *jeſuits* had been their immediate directors, they could not have taught them better, nor have found apter ſcholars.

THEIR ſecond accuſation is, that we encourage and maintain *arbitrary power* in Princes; and promote *enſlaving doctrines* among the people. This they go about to prove by inſtances, producing the particular opinions of certain divines in K. Charles II's reign, a decree of Oxford univerſity, and ſome few writers ſince the *revolution*. What they mean is the principle of *paſſive obedience* and *non-reſiſtance*, which thoſe who affirm, did, I believe, never intend ſhould include *arbitrary power*. However, altho' I am ſenſible that it is not reckoned prudent in a diſpute to make any conceſſions without the laſt neceſſity; yet I do agree, that in my own private opinion, ſome writers did carry that tenet of *paſſive obedience* to a height, which ſeemed hardly conſiſtent with the liberties of a country, whoſe laws can neither be enacted nor repealed without

without the consent of the whole people; I mean not those, who affirm it due in general, as it certainly is, to the legislature; but such as fix it entirely in the Prince's person. This last hath, I believe, been done by a very few; but when the *whigs* quote authors to prove it upon us, they bring in all who mention it as a duty in general, without applying it to Princes abstracted from their senate.

By thus freely declaring my own sentiments of *passive obedience*, it will at least appear that I do not write for a party; neither do I upon any occasion pretend to speak their sentiments, but my own. The majority of the two houses, and the present ministry (if those be a party) seem to me in all their proceedings to pursue the real interest of church and state; and if I should happen to differ from particular persons among them in a single notion about government, I suppose they will not upon that account explode me and my paper. However, as an answer once for all to the tedious scurrilities of those idle people, who affirm I am hired and directed what to write; I must here inform them, that their *censure* is an effect of their *principles*. The present ministry are under no necessity of employing prostitute pens; they have no dark designs to promote by advancing *heterodox opinions*.

But, to return, suppose two or three private divines under K. Charles II did a little overstrain the *doctrine of passive obedience* to Princes; some allowance might be given to the memory of that *unnatural rebellion* against his father, and the dismal consequences of *resistance*. It is plain, by the proceedings of the churchmen before and at the revolution, that this doctrine was never designed to introduce *arbitrary power*.

I look upon the *whigs* and *dissenters* to be exactly of the same political faith; let us therefore see, what share each of them had in advancing *arbitrary power*. It is manifest, that the *fanatics* made Cromwell the most absolute tyrant in Christendom. The *rump* abolished the *house of Lords*, the *army* abolished the *rump*, and by this army of *saints* he governed. The *dissenters* took liberty of conscience and employments from the late K. James, as an acknowledgement of his dispensing power; which makes a King of England as absolute as the Turk. The

whigs

whigs under the late King perpetually declared for keeping up a ſtanding army in times of peace; which hath in all ages been the firſt and great ſtep to the ruin of liberty. They were beſides diſcovering every day their inclinations to deſtroy the rights of the church, and declared their opinion in all companies againſt the biſhops ſitting in the *houſe of Peers*, which was exactly copying after their predeceſſors of *forty one*. I need not ſay, their real intentions were to make the King abſolute; but whatever be the deſigns of innovating men, they uſually end in a tyranny; as we may ſee by an hundred examples in Greece, and in the latter common-wealths of Italy, mentioned by Machiavel.

In the third place, the *whigs* accuſe us of a deſign to bring in the *Pretender*; and to give it a greater air of probability, they ſuppoſe the Queen to be a party in this deſign; which however is no very extraordinary ſuppoſition in thoſe, who have advanced ſuch ſingular paradoxes concerning Greg and Guiſcard. Upon this article their charge is general, without ever offering to produce an inſtance. But I verily think and believe, it will appear no parodox, that, if ever he be brought in, the *whigs* are his men. For firſt, it is an undoubted truth, that a year or two after the *revolution*, ſeveral leaders of that party had their pardons ſent them by the late K. James; and had entered upon meaſures to reſtore him on account of ſome diſobligations they received from K. William. Beſides, I would aſk, whether thoſe who are under the greateſt ties of gratitude to K. James, are not at this day become the moſt zealous *whigs*? And of what party thoſe are now, who kept a long correſpondence with St Germains?

It is likewiſe very obſervable of late, that the *whigs* upon all occaſions, profeſs their belief of the Pretender's being no *impoſtor*, but a real *Prince*, born of the late Queen's body; which, whether it be true or falſe, is very unſeaſonably advanced, conſidering the weight ſuch an opinion muſt have with the vulgar, if they once thoroughly believe it. Neither is it at all improbable, that the Pretender himſelf puts his chief hopes in the friendſhip he expects from the *diſſenters* and *whigs*, by his *choice to invade* the kingdom, when the latter were moſt in

in credit; and he had reason to count upon the former from the gracious treatment they received from his supposed father, and their joyful acceptance of it. But further, what could be more consistent with the *whiggish* notion of a *revolution principle*, than to bring in the Pretender? A *revolution-principle*, as their writings and discourses have taught us to define it, is a principle perpetually disposing men to *revolutions*: and this is suitable to the famous saying of a great *whig*, *that the more revolutions the better*; which, how odd a maxim soever in appearance, I take to be the true characteristic of the party.

A dog loves to turn round often; yet, after certain *revolutions* he lies down to *rest*: but heads under the dominion of the *moon* are for perpetual *changes*, and perpetual *revolutions*: besides, the *whigs* owe all their wealth to *wars* and *revolutions*; like the girl at Bartholomew-fair, who gets a penny by turning round a hundred times with swords in her hands.

To conclude, the *whigs* have a natural faculty of bringing in *pretenders*, and will therefore probably endeavour to bring in the great one at last. How many *pretenders* to wit, honour, nobility, politics, have they brought in these last twenty years? In short, they have been sometimes able to procure a majority of *pretenders* in parliament; and wanted nothing to render the work complete, except a *pretender* at their head.

No 40. Thursday, May 10. 1711.

Dos est magna parentium virtus.

I TOOK up a paper * some days ago in a coffee-house; and if the correctness of the style, and a superior spirit in it, had not immediately undeceived me, I should have been apt to imagine I had been reading an *Examiner*.

* The Speaker's congratulation of Mr Harley, in the name of the house, on his escape and recovery. See the next Number. *Hawkes.*

ner. In this paper there were ſeveral important propoſitions advanced. For inſtance, that 'providence raiſed 'up Mr Harley to be an inſtrument of great good, in a 'very critical juncture, when it was much wanted. That 'his very enemies acknowledge his eminent abilities, and 'diſtinguiſhing merit, by their unwearied and reſtleſs en'deavours againſt his perſon and reputation; that they 'have had an inveterate malice againſt both; that he 'hath been wonderfully preſerved from *ſome* unparallel'led attempts,' with more to the ſame purpoſe. I immediately computed by rules of arithmetic, that in the laſt cited words there was ſomething more intended than the attempt of Guiſcard, which I think, can properly paſs but for *one* of the *ſame*. And altho' I dare not pretend to gueſs the author's meaning; yet the expreſſion allows ſuch a latitude, that I would venture to hold a wager, moſt readers, both *whig* and *tory*, have agreed with me, that this plural number muſt in all probability among other facts take in the buſineſs of Greg.

SEE now the difference of ſtyles. Had I been to have told my thoughts on this occaſion: inſtead of ſaying how Mr Harley was treated by ſome perſons, and preſerved from ſome unparallelled attempts, I ſhould with intolerable bluntneſs and ill manners have told a formal ſtory of a committee ſent to a condemned criminal in Newgate to bribe him with a pardon, on condition he would ſwear high treaſon againſt his maſter, who diſcovered his correſpondence and ſecured his perſon, when a *certain grave politician* had given him warning to make his eſcape: and by this means I ſhould have drawn a whole ſwarm of hedge writers to exhauſt their catalogue of ſcurrilities againſt me, as a liar, and a ſlanderer. But with ſubmiſſion to the author of that forementioned paper. I think he hath carried that expreſſion to the utmoſt it will bear; for after all this noiſe, I know of but *two attempts* againſt Mr Harley, that can really be called *unparallelled*, which are thoſe aforeſaid of Greg and Guiſcard; for as to the reſt, I will engage to *parallel* them from the ſtory of Catiline, and others I could produce.

HOWEVER I cannot but obſerve, with infinite pleaſure, that a great part of what I have charged upon the late *prevailing faction*, and for affirming which I have been

adorned with ſo many decent epithets, hath been ſufficiently confirmed at ſeveral times by the reſolutions of one or the other houſe of parliament. I may therefore now ſay, I hope, with good authority, that *there hath been ſome unparallelled attempts againſt Mr. Harley*: that the late miniſtry were juſtly to blame in ſome managements, which occaſioned the unfortunate battle of Almanza, and the diſappointment at Thoulon; that the public hath been grievouſly wronged by moſt notorious frauds during the *whig adminiſtration*; that thoſe, who adviſed the bringing in the Palatines, were enemies to the kingdom; that the late managers of the revenue have not duly paſſed their accounts for a great part of thirty five millions, and ought not to be truſted in ſuch employments any more. Perhaps in a little time. I may venture to affirm ſome other paradoxes of this kind, and produce the ſame vouchers. And perhaps alſo, if it had not been ſo buſy a period, inſtead of one Examiner, the late miniſtry might have had above four hundred, each of whoſe little fingers would be heavier than my loins. It makes me think of Neptune's threat to the winds:

Quos ego—ſed motos præſtat componere fluctus.

Thus, when the ſons of Æolus had almoſt ſunk the ſhip with the tempeſts they raiſed, it was neceſſary to ſmooth the ocean, and ſecure the veſſel, inſtead of purſuing the offenders.

BUT I obſerve the general expectation at preſent, inſtead of dwelling any longer upon conjectures who is to be puniſhed for paſt miſcarriages, ſeems bent upon the rewards intended to thoſe, who have been ſo highly inſtrumental in reſcuing our conſtitution from its late danger. It is the obſervation of Tacitus in the life of Agricola, that his eminent ſervices had raiſed a general opinion of his being deſigned by the Emperor for Prætor of Britain: *Nullis in hoc juris ſermonibus, ſed quia par videbatur*; and then he adds, *Non ſemper errat Fama, aliquando et elegit*. The judgment of a wiſe prince, and the general diſpoſition of the people, do often point at the ſame perſon; and ſometimes the popular wiſhes do even foretel the reward intended for ſome ſuperior merit. Thus, among ſeveral deſerving perſons, there are two

whom

whom the public vogue hath in a peculiar manner ſingled out as deſigned very ſoon to receive the choiceſt marks of the royal favour. *One* of them to be placed in a very high ſtation, and *both* to increaſe the number of our nobility*. This, I ſay, is the general conjecture; for I pretend to none, nor will be chargeable if it be not fulfilled; ſince it is enough for their honour, that the nation thinks them worthy of the greateſt rewards.

UPON this occaſion I cannot but take notice, that of all the hereſies in politics profuſely ſcattered by the partiſans of the *late adminiſtration*, none ever diſpleaſed me more, or ſeemed to have more dangerous conſequences to *monarchy*, than that pernicious talent ſo much affected of diſcovering a contempt for *birth*, *family*, and *ancient nobility*. All the threadbare topics of poets and orators were diſplayed to diſcover to us, that merit and virtue were the only nobility; and that the advantages of blood could not make a knave or a fool either honeſt or wiſe. Moſt popular commotions we read of in the hiſtories of Greece and Rome took their riſe from unjuſt quarrels to the nobles; and in the latter, the Plebeians encroachments on the Patricians were the firſt cauſe of their ruin.

SUPPOSE there be nothing but opinion in the difference of blood; every body knows, that authority is very much founded on opinion. But ſurely that difference is not wholly imaginary. The advantages of a liberal education, of chuſing the beſt companions to converſe with, not being under the neceſſity of practiſing little mean tricks by a ſcanty allowance, the enlarging of thought, and acquiring the knowledge of men and things by travel, the example of anceſtors inciting to great and good actions; theſe are uſually ſome of the opportunities, that fall in the way of thoſe who are born of what we call the better families: and allowing genius to be equal in them and the vulgar, the odds are clearly on their ſide. Nay, we may obſerve in ſome, who by the appearance of merit or favour of fortune have riſen to great ſtations from an obſcure birth, that they have ſtill retained ſome ſordid vices

* *Harley and St John.*

of their parentage or education, either insatiable avarice, or ignominious falshood and corruption.

To say the truth, the great neglect of education in several noble families, whose sons are suffered to pass the most improveable seasons of their youth in vice and idleness, have too much lessened their reputation: but even this misfortune we owe, among all the rest, to that *whiggish* practice of reviling the universities under the pretence of their instilling pedantry, narrow principles, and high-church doctrines.

I would not be thought to undervalue merit and virtue, wherever they are to be found; but will allow them capable of the highest dignities in a state, when they are in a very great degree of eminence. A pearl holds its value, tho' it be found in a dunghil; but however, that is not the most probable place to search for it. Nay, I will go farther, and admit, that a man of quality, without *merit*, is just so much the worse for his quality; which at once sets his vices in a more public view, and reproacheth him for them. But on the other side, I doubt those, who are always undervaluing the advantages of birth, and celebrating personal merit, have principally an eye to their own, which they are fully satisfied with, and which no-body will dispute with them about; whereas they cannot without impudence and folly pretend to be nobly born; because this is a secret too easily discovered: for no mens parentage is so nicely enquired into as that of assuming upstarts, especially when they affect to make it better than it is, as they often do, or behave themselves with insolence.

BUT whatever may be the opinion of others upon this subject, whose philosophical scorn for *blood* and *families* reacheth even to those that are *royal*, or perhaps took its rise from a *whiggish* contempt of the latter: I am pleased to find *two* such instances of extraordinary merit, as I have mentioned, joined with antient and honourable birth; which, whether it be of real or imaginary value, hath been held in veneration by all wise polite states both antient and modern. And as much a foppery as men pretend to think it, nothing is more observable in those who rise to great place or wealth from mean originals, than their mighty solicitude to convince the world, that they

they are not ſo low as is commonly believed. They are glad to find it made out by ſome ſtrained genealogy, that they have a remote alliance with better families. Cromwell himſelf was pleaſed with the impudence of a flatterer, who undertook to prove him deſcended from a branch of the royal ſtem. I know a *citizen* who adds or alters a letter in his name with every *plumb* he acquires; he now wants only the change of a vowel † to be allied to a ſovereign Prince in Italy ‡; and that perhaps he may contrive to be done by a *miſtake* of the graver upon his *tomb-ſtone*.

WHEN I am upon this ſubject of *nobility*, I am ſorry for the occaſion given me to mention the loſs of a *perſon*, who was ſo great an ornament to it, as the late Lord Preſident ‖; who began early to diſtinguiſh himſelf in the *public ſervice*, and paſſed thro' the higheſt employments of ſtate, in the moſt difficult times, with great *abilities* and untainted *honour*. As he was of a good old age, his principles of religion and loyalty had received no mixture from *late infuſions*, but were inſtilled into him by his illuſtrious father, and other noble ſpirits, who had expoſed their lives and fortunes for the Royal Martyr:

——————Pulcherrima proles,
Magnanimi heroes nati melioribus annis.

HIS firſt great action was, like Scipio, to defend his father when oppreſſed by numbers; and his filial piety was not only rewarded with long life, but with a ſon, who, upon the like occaſion, would have ſhewn the ſame reſolution. No man ever preſerved his dignity better when he was out of power, nor ſhewed more affability while he was in. To conclude, his character (which I do not here pretend to draw) is ſuch as his neareſt friends may ſafely truſt to the moſt impartial pen; nor wants the leaſt of that allowance which, they ſay, is required for thoſe who are dead.

† Sir H. Furneſe. ‡ Farneſe. ‖ Earl of Rocheſter.

No 41. Thurſday, May 17. 1711.

——Quem cur diſtringere coner,
Tutus ab infeſtis latronibus?

I NEVER let ſlip an opportunity of endeavouring to convince the world, that I am not partial; and to confound the idle reproach of my being hired or directed what to write in defence of the preſent miniſtry, or for detecting the practices of the former. When I firſt undertook this paper, I firmly reſolved, that if ever I obſerved any groſs neglect, abuſe, or corruption in the public management, which might give any juſt offence to reaſonable people; I would take notice of it with that innocent boldneſs which becometh an honeſt man, and a true lover of his country; at the ſame time preſerving the reſpect due to perſons ſo highly entruſted by ſo wiſe and excellent a Queen. I know not how ſuch a liberty might have been reſented; but I thank God there hath been no occaſion given me to exerciſe it; for I can ſafely affirm, that I have with the utmoſt rigour examined all the actions of the preſent miniſtry, as far as they fall under general cognizance, without being able to accuſe them of one ill or miſtaken ſtep. Obſerving indeed ſome time ago, that ſeeds of diſſenſion had been plentifully ſcattered from a *certain corner*, and fearing they began to riſe and ſpread, I immediately writ a paper on the ſubject, which I treated with that warmth I thought it required; but the prudence of thoſe at the helm ſoon prevented this growing evil; and at preſent it ſeems likely to have no conſequences.

I have had indeed for ſome time a ſmall occaſion of quarrelling, which I thought too inconſiderable for a formal ſubject of complaint, altho' I have hinted at it more than once. But it is grown at preſent to as great a height, as a matter of that nature can poſſibly bear; and therefore I conceive it high time that an effectual ſtop ſhould be put to it. I have been amazed at the flaming licentiouſneſs of ſeveral weekly papers, which for ſome

months

months paſt have been chiefly employed in bare-faced ſcurrilities againſt thoſe who are in the greateſt truſt and favour with the Queen, with the firſt and laſt letters of their names frequently printed, or ſome *periphraſis* deſcribing their ſtation, or other *innuendos* contrived too plain to be miſtaken. The conſequence of which is (and it is natural it ſhould be ſo) that their long impunity hath rendered them ſtill more audacious.

AT this time I particularly intend a paper called the Medley, whoſe indefatigable inceſſant railings againſt me I never thought convenient to take notice of, becauſe it would have diverted my deſign, which I intended to be of public uſe. Beſides, I never yet obſerved that writer, or thoſe writers (for it is every way a Medley) to argue againſt any one material point or fact that I had advanced, or make one fair quotation. And after all, I knew very well how ſoon the world grows weary of controverſy. It is plain to me, that three or four hands at leaſt have been joined at times in that worthy compoſition; but the out-lines, as well as the finiſhing, ſeem to have been always the work of the ſame pen, as it is viſible from half a ſcore beauties of ſtyle inſeparable from it. But who theſe *medlers* are, or where the judicious leaders have picked them up, I ſhall never go about to conjecture: factious rancour, falſe wit, abandoned ſcurrility, impudent falſehood, and ſervile pedantry, having ſo many fathers, and ſo few to own them, that Curioſity herſelf would not be at the pains to gueſs. It is the firſt time I ever did myſelf the honour to mention that admirable paper; nor could I imagine any occaſion likely to happen, that would make it neceſſary for me to engage with ſuch an adverſary. This paper is weekly publiſhed, and, as appears by the number, hath been ſo for ſeveral months; and is next to the *Obſervator* allowed to be the beſt production of the party. Laſt week my Printer brought me that of May 7. No. 32. where there are two paragraphs relating to the Speaker of the houſe of Commons, and to Mr Harley, which, as little as I am inclined to engage with ſuch an antagoniſt, I cannot let paſs without failing in my duty to the public: and if thoſe in power will ſuffer ſuch infamous inſinuations to paſs with impunity, they act without precedent from any age or country of the world.

I desire to open this matter, and leave the *whigs* themselves to determine upon it. The house of Commons resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the Speaker should congratulate Mr Harley's escape and recovery in the name of the house, upon his first attendance on their service. This is accordingly done; and the speech, together with the Chancellor of the Exchequer's, are printed by order of the house. The author of the *Medley* takes this speech to task the very next week after it is published; telling us in the aforesaid paper, that the 'Speaker's commending 'Mr Harley for being an instrument of great good to the 'nation, was ill-chosen flattery; because Mr Harley had 'brought the nation under great difficulties, to say no 'more.' He says, that when the Speaker tells Mr Harley, that providence hath wonderfully preserved him from some unparallelled attempts (for that the *Medley* alludes to) 'he only revives a false and groundless calumny upon 'other men; which is an instance of impotent, but in-'veterate malice that makes him [the Speaker] still ap-'pear more vile and contemptible.' This is an extract from his first paragraph. In the next this writer says, 'that the Speaker's praying to God for the continuance 'of Mr Harley's life, as an invaluable blessing, was a ful-'some piece of insincerity, which exposes him to shame 'and derision; because he is known to bear ill will to 'Mr Harley, to have an extreme bad opinion of him, and 'to think him an obstructor of those fine measures he 'would bring about.'

I now appeal to the *whigs* themselves, whether a great Minister of State, in high favour with the Queen, and a Speaker of the house of Commons, were ever publicly treated after so extraordinary a manner in the most licentious times? For this is not a clandestine libel stolen into the world, but openly printed and sold with the bookseller's name and place of abode at the bottom. And the juncture is admirable, when Mr Harley is generally believed upon the very point to be made an Earl, and promoted to the most important station of the kingdom; nay, the very marks of esteem he hath so lately received from the whole representative body of the people, are called "ill chosen flattery, and a fulsome piece of insince-"rity, exposing the donors to shame and derision."

Does this intrepid writer think he hath sufficiently dis-guised

guiſed the matter by that ſtale artifice of altering the ſtory, and putting it as a ſuppoſed caſe. Did any man, who ever ſaw the congratulatory ſpeech, read either of thoſe paragraphs in the *Medley* without interpreting them juſt as I have done? Will the author declare upon his great ſincerity, that he never had any ſuch meaning? Is it enough, that a jury at Weſtminſter-hall would perhaps not find him guilty of defaming the Speaker and Mr Harley in that paper? Which however, I am much in doubt of too; and muſt think the law very defective, if the reputation of ſuch perſons muſt lie at the mercy of ſuch pens. I do not remember to have ſeen any libel, ſuppoſed to be writ with caution and double meaning in order to prevent proſecution, delivered under ſo thin a cover, or ſo unartificially made up as this, whether it were from an apprehenſion of his reader's dulneſs, or an effect of his own. He hath tranſcribed the very phraſes of the Speaker, and put them in a different character, for fear they might paſs unobſerved, and to prevent all poſſibility of being miſtaken. I ſhall be pleaſed to ſee him have recourſe to the old evaſion, and ſay, that I who make the application am chargeable with the abuſe; let any reader of either party be judge. But I cannot forbear aſſerting as my opinion, that for a miniſtry to endure ſuch open calumny, without calling the author to account, is next to deſerving it. And this is an omiſſion I venture to charge upon the preſent miniſtry, who are too apt to deſpiſe little things, which however have not always little conſequences.

WHEN this paper was firſt undertaken, one deſign among others was, to examine ſome of thoſe writings ſo frequently publiſhed with an evil tendency either to religion or government; but I was long diverted by other enquiries, which I thought more immediately neceſſary; to animadvert upon mens actions, rather than their ſpeculations; to ſhew the neceſſity there was of changing the miniſtry, that our conſtitution in church and ſtate might be preſerved; to expoſe ſome dangerous principles and practices under the former adminiſtration; and prove, by many inſtances, that thoſe who are now at the helm, are entirely in the true intereſt of Prince and people. This I *may* modeſtly hope hath, in ſome meaſure, been already

ready done, ſufficient to anſwer the end propoſed, which was to inform the ignorant, and thoſe at a diſtance, and to convince ſuch as are engaged in a party from no other motive than that of conſcience. I know not whether I ſhall have any appetite to continue this work much longer; if I do, perhaps ſome time may be ſpent in expoſing and overturning the falſe reaſonings of thoſe who engage their pens on the other ſide, without loſing time in vindicating myſelf againſt their ſcurrilities, much leſs in retorting them. Of this ſort there is a certain humble companion, a French *maitre des langues* *, who every-month publiſheth an extract from votes, news-papers, ſpeeches, and proclamations, larded with ſome inſipid remarks of his own; which he calls, *The political ſtate of Great Britain.* This ingenious piece, he tells us himſelf, is conſtantly tranſlated into French, and printed in Holland, where the Dutch no doubt conceive moſt noble ſentiments of us conveyed thro' ſuch a vehicle. It is obſervable in his account for April, that the vanity ſo predominant in many of his nation hath made him more concerned for the honour of Guiſcard, than the ſafety of Mr Harley. And for fear we ſhould think the worſe of his country upon that *aſſaſſin*'s account, he tells us there have been more murders, parricides, and villanies committed in England than any other part of the world. I cannot imagine how an illiterate foreigner, who is neither maſter of our language, or indeed of common ſenſe; and who is devoted to a faction, I ſuppoſe for no other reaſon but his having more *whig* cuſtomers than *tories*, ſhould take it into his head to write politic tracts of our affairs. But I preſume, he builds upon the foundation of having been called to an account for his inſolence in one of his former monthly productions; which is a method that ſeldom fails of giving ſome vogue to the fooliſheſt compoſition. If ſuch a work muſt be done, I wiſh ſome tolerable hand would undertake it; and that we would not ſuffer a little whiffling Frenchman to neglect his trade of teaching his language to our children, and preſume to inſtruct foreigners in our politics.

No 42.

* One Abel Boyer.

No 42. Thurſday, May 24. 1711.

Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris,
Æ deſque labentes deorum;——

SEVERAL letters have been lately ſent me, deſiring I would make honourable mention of the pious deſign of building fifty churches in ſeveral parts of London and Weſtminſter, where they are moſt wanted, occaſioned by an addreſs of the *convocation* to the Queen, and recommended by her Majeſty to the houſe of Commons; who immediately promiſed they *would enable her to accompliſh ſo excellent a deſign*, and are now preparing a bill accordingly. I thought to have deferred any notice of this important affair until the end of this ſeſſion; at which time I propoſed to deliver a particular account of the great and uſeful things already performed by this preſent parliament. But in compliance to thoſe who give themſelves the trouble of adviſing me; and partly convinced by the reaſons they offer, I am content to beſtow a paper upon a ſubject that indeed ſo well deſerveth it.

THE clergy, and whoever elſe have a true concern for the conſtitution of the church, cannot but be highly pleaſed with one proſpect in this new ſcene of public affairs. They may very well remember the time, when every ſeſſion of parliament was like a cloud hanging over their heads; and if it happened to paſs without burſting into ſome ſtorm upon the church, we thanked God, and thought it an happy eſcape until the next meeting; upon which we reſumed our ſecret apprehenſions, altho' we were not allowed to believe any danger. Things are now altered, the parliament takes the neceſſities of the church into conſideration, receives the propoſals of the clergy met in convocation, and amidſt all the exigencies *of a long expenſive war*, and *under the preſſure of heavy debts*, find a ſupply for erecting fifty edifices for the ſervice of God. And it appears by the addreſs of the Commor Majeſty upon this occaſion (wherein they diſcovered

diſcovered a true ſpirit of religion) that applying the money granted *to accompliſh ſo excellent a deſign*, would, in their opinion, be the moſt effectual way of carrying on the war; that it would (to uſe their own words) 'be a 'means of drawing down bleſſings on her Majeſty's under-'takings, as it adds to the number of thoſe places, where 'the prayers of her devout and faithful ſubjects will be 'daily offered up to God for the proſperity of her govern-'ment at home, and the ſucceſs of her arms abroad.'

I am ſometimes hoping, that we are not naturally ſo bad a people as we have appeared for ſome years paſt. *Faction*, in order to ſupport itſelf, is generally forced to make uſe of ſuch abominable inſtruments, that as long as it prevails, the genius of a nation is overpreſſed, and cannot appear to exert itſelf; but when that is broken and ſuppreſſed, when things return to the old courſe, mankind will naturally fall to act from principles of reaſon and religion. The Romans, upon a great victory or eſcape from public danger, frequently built a temple in honour of ſome god, to whoſe peculiar favour they imputed their ſucceſs or delivery: and ſometimes the General did the like, *at his own expence*, to acquit himſelf of ſome pious vow he had made. How little of any thing reſembling this hath been done by us after all our victories! And perhaps for that reaſon, among others, they have turned to ſo little account. But what could we expect? We acted all along as if we believed nothing of a God, or his providence; and therefore it was conſiſtent to offer up our edifices only to thoſe, whom we looked upon as *givers of all victory* in his ſtead.

I have computed that fifty churches may be built, by a medium, at ſix thouſand pounds for a church, which is ſomewhat under the price of a *ſubject's palace*; yet perhaps the care of above two hundred thouſand ſouls, with the benefit of their prayers for the proſperity of their Queen and country, may be almoſt put in the balance with the domeſtic convenience, or even magnificence of any ſubject whatſoever.

Sir William Petty, who, under the name of Captain Graunt, publiſhed ſome obſervations upon the bills of mortality about five years after the *reſtoration*, tells us the pariſhes in London were even then ſo unequally divided,

vided, that ſome were two hundred times larger than others. Since that time the increaſe of trade, the frequency of parliaments, the deſire of living in the metropolis, together with that genius for building which began after the *fire*, and hath ever ſince continued, have prodigiouſly enlarged this town on all ſides, where it was capable of increaſe; and thoſe tracts of land built into ſtreets have generally continued of the ſame pariſh they belonged to while they lay in fields: ſo that the care of above thirty thouſand ſouls hath been ſometimes committed to one miniſter, whoſe church would hardly contain the twentieth part of his flock: neither, I think, was any family in thoſe pariſhes obliged to pay above a groat a year to their ſpiritual paſtor. Some few of thoſe pariſhes have been ſince divided, in others were erected chapels of eaſe, where a preacher is maintained by general contribution. Such poor ſhifts and expedients, to the infinite ſhame and ſcandal of ſo vaſt and flouriſhing a city, have been thought ſufficient for the ſervice of God and religion, as if they were circumſtances wholly indifferent.

THIS defect among other conſequences of it hath made *ſchiſm* a ſort of neceſſary evil; there being at leaſt three hundred thouſand inhabitants in this town whom the churches would not be able to contain, if the people were ever ſo well diſpoſed: and in a city not overlooked with zeal, the only way to preſerve any degree of religion, is to make all attendance upon the duties of it as eaſy and cheap as poſſible; whereas, on the contrary, in the larger pariſhes the preſs is ſo great, and the pew-keepers tax ſo exorbitant, that thoſe who love to ſave trouble and money, either ſay at home or retire to the *conventicles*. I believe there are few examples, in any Chriſtian country, of ſo great a neglect of religion; and the diſſenting teachers have made their advantage largely by it, *ſowing tares among the wheat while men ſlept*, being much more expert at procuring congregations, which is a trade they are bred up in, than men of a liberal education.

AND to ſay truth, the way practiſed by ſeveral pariſhes in and about this town of maintaining their clergy by voluntary ſubſcriptions, is not only unbecoming to the character, but hath many pernicious conſequences attending it; ſuch a precarious dependance ſubjecting a clergy-

clergy-man, who hath not more than ordinary ſpirit and reſolution, to many inconveniencies, which are obvious to imagine; but this defect will no doubt be remedied by the wiſdom and piety of the preſent parliament; and a tax laid upon every houſe in a pariſh for the ſupport of their paſtor. Neither indeed can it be conceived, why a houſe whoſe purchaſe is not reckoned above one third leſs than land of the ſame yearly rent, ſhould not pay a twentieth part annually (which is half tythe) to the ſupport of the miniſter. One thing I could wiſh, that in fixing the maintenance to the ſeveral miniſters in theſe new intended pariſhes no determinate ſum of money may be named, which in all perpetuities ought by any means to be avoided, but rather a tax in proportion to the rent of each houſe, altho' it be but a twentieth, or even a thirtieth part. The contrary of this, I am told, was done in ſeveral pariſhes of the city after the *fire*, where the incumbent and his ſucceſſors were to receive for ever a certain ſum; for example, one or two hundred pounds a year. But the lawgivers did not conſider, that what we call at preſent one hundred pounds will not in proceſs of time have the intrinſic value of twenty; as twenty pounds now are hardly equal to forty ſhillings three hundred years ago. There are a thouſand inſtances of this all over England in reſerved rents applied to hoſpitals, in old chiefries, and even among the clergy themſelves, in thoſe payments which, I think, they call a *modus*.

As no Prince had ever better diſpoſitions than her preſent Majeſty for the advancement of true religion; ſo there never was any age, that produced greater occaſions to employ them on. It is an unſpeakable misfortune that any deſign of ſo excellent a Queen ſhould be checked by the neceſſities of a long and ruinous war, which the folly or corruption of *modern politicians* have involved us in againſt all the maxims, whereby our country flouriſhed ſo many hundred years: elſe her Majeſty's care of religion would certainly have reached even to her American plantations. Thoſe noble countries ſtocked by numbers from hence, whereof too many are in no very great reputation for faith or morals, will be a perpetual reproach to us, until ſome better care be taken for cultivating Chriſtianity among them. If the governors of thoſe ſeveral

veral colonies were obliged at certain times to tranſmit an exact repreſentation of the ſtate of religion in their ſeveral diſtricts, and the legiſlature here would, in time of leiſure, take that affair under their conſideration, it might be perfected with little difficulty, and be a great addition to the glories of her Majeſty's reign.

BUT, to wave further ſpeculations upon ſo remote a ſcene, while we have ſubjects enough to employ them on at home: it is to be hoped the clergy will not ſlip any proper opportunity of improving the pious diſpoſitions of the Queen and kingdom for the advantage of the church; when, by the example of times paſt they conſider how rarely ſuch conjectures are like to happen. What if ſome method were thought on towards repairing of churches; for which there is like to be too frequent occaſion; thoſe ancient Gothic ſtructures throughout this kingdom going every year to decay. That expedient of repairing or rebuilding them by charitable collections ſeems, in my opinion, not very ſuitable either to the dignity and uſefulneſs of the work, or to the honour of our country; ſince it might be ſo eaſily done with very little charge to the public in a much more decent and honourable manner, while parliaments are ſo frequently called. But theſe and other regulations muſt be left to a time of *peace*, which I ſhall humbly preſume to wiſh may ſoon be our ſhare, however offenſive it may be to any, either *abroad* or at *home*, who are gainers by the war.

No 43. Thurſday, May 31. 1711.

Scilicet, ut poſſis curvo dignoſcere rectum.

HAVING been forced in my papers to uſe the cant words of *whig* and *tory*, which have ſo often varied their ſignifications for twenty years paſt; I think it neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the ſeveral changes thoſe two terms have undergone ſince that period; and then to tell the reader what I have always underſtood by each of them ſince I undertook this work. I reckon that theſe ſorts of conceited appellations are uſually invented by the vulgar,

vulgar; who, not troubling themſelves to examine thoroughly the merits of a cauſe, are conſequently the moſt violent partiſans of what they eſpouſe, and in their quarrels uſually proceed to their beloved argument of calling *names*, until at length they light upon one which is ſure to ſtick: and in time each party grows proud of that appellation, which their adverſaries at firſt intended for a reproach. Of this kind were the Praſini and Veneti, the Guelfs and Gibelines, Hugonots and Papiſts, Roundheads and Cavaliers, with many others of ancient and modern date. Among us of late there ſeems to have been a barrenneſs of invention in this point; the words *whig* and *tory*, altho' they be not much above thirty years old, having been preſſed to the ſervice of many ſucceſſions of parties with very different ideas faſtened to them. This diſtinction, I think, began towards the latter part of K. Charles II's reign, was dropt during that of his ſucceſſor, and then revived at the *revolution*; ſince which it hath perpetually flouriſhed, altho' applied to very different kinds of principles and perſons. In that convention of Lords and Commons, ſome of both houſes were for a *regency* to the Prince of Orange, with a reſervation of ſtyle and title to the abſent King, which ſhould be made uſe of in all public acts: others, when they were brought to allow the throne vacant, thought the ſucceſſion ſhould immediately go to the next heir, according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, as if the laſt King were actually dead. And altho' the diſſenting Lords (in whoſe houſe the chief oppoſition was) did at laſt yield both theſe points, took the oaths to the new King, and many of them employments; yet they were looked upon with an evil eye by the warm zealots of the other ſide; neither did the court ever heartily favour any of them, altho' ſome of them were of the moſt eminent for abilities and virtue, and ſerved that Prince both in his councils and his army with untainted faith. It was apprehended at the ſame time, and perhaps it might have been true, that many of the clergy would have been better pleaſed with the ſcheme of a *regency*, or at leaſt an uninterrupted lineal ſucceſſion, for the ſake of thoſe whoſe conſciences were truly *ſcrupulous*; and they thought there were ſome circumſtances in the caſe of the deprived bi-

ſhops,

ſhops, that looked a little hard, or at leaſt deſerved commiſeration.

THESE and other the like reflections did, as I conceive, revive the denominations of *whig* and *tory*.

SOME time after the revolution the diſtinction of *high* and *low* church came in, which was raiſed by the diſſenters in order to break the church party by dividing the members into *high* and *low*; and the opinion raiſed, that the *high* joined with the *papiſts*, inclined the *low* to fall in with the *diſſenters*.

AND here I ſhall take leave to produce ſome principles, which, in the ſeveral periods of the late reign, ſerved to denote a man of one or the other party. To be againſt a ſtanding army in time of peace was all *high-church, tory*, and *tantivy*; to differ from a majority of biſhops was the ſame. To raiſe the prerogative above law for ſerving a turn, was *low-church* and *whig*. The opinion of the majority in the houſe of commons, eſpecially of the country party or landed intereſt, was *high-fly* and *rank tory*. To exalt the King's ſupremacy beyond all precedent, was *low-church, whiggiſh*, and *moderate*. To make the leaſt doubt of the pretended Prince's being ſuppoſititious, and a *tiler's* ſon, was, in their phraſe, *top* and *top-gallant*, and *perfect Jacobitiſm*. To reſume the moſt exorbitant grants, that were ever given to a ſett of profligate favourites, and apply them to the public, was the very quinteſſence of *toryiſm*; notwithſtanding thoſe grants were known to be acquired by ſacrificing the honour and the wealth of England.

IN moſt of theſe principles the two parties ſeem to have ſhifted opinions, ſince their inſtitution under K. Charles II. and indeed to have gone very different from what was expected from each, even at the time of the *revolution*. But as to that concerning the Pretender, the *whigs* have ſo far renounced it, that they are grown the great advocates for his legitimacy: which gives me the opportunity of vindicating a noble Duke, who was accuſed of a blunder in the houſe, when upon a certain Lord's mentioning the *pretended Prince*, his Grace told the Lords, "he muſt be plain with them, and call that perſon, not "the pretended Prince, but the pretended Impoſtor:" *which was ſo far from a blunder in that polite Lord, as his*

his ill-willers give out, that it was only a refined way of delivering the avowed ſentiments of his whole party.

BUT to return: this was the ſtate of principles, when the Queen came to the crown; ſome time after which it pleaſed *certain great perſons*, who had been all their lives in the altitude of *tory* profeſſion, to enter into a treaty with the *whigs*, from whom they could get better terms than from their old friends, who began to be reſty, and would not allow monopolies of power and favour, nor conſent to carry on the war intirely at the expence of this nation, that they might have penſions from abroad; while another people, more immediately concerned in the war, traded with the enemy as in times of peace; whereas the other party, whoſe caſe appeared then as deſperate, was ready to yield to any conditions that would bring them into play. And I cannot help affirming, that this nation was made a ſacrifice to the unmeaſurable appetite of power and wealth in *a very few*, that ſhall be nameleſs, who in every ſtep they made acted directly againſt what they had always profeſſed. And if his Royal Highneſs the Prince * had died ſome years ſooner, (who was a perpetual check in their career) it is dreadful to think how far they might have proceeded.

SINCE that time the bulk of the *whigs* appeareth rather to be linked to a certain ſett of *perſons*, than any certain ſett of *principles*; ſo that if I were to define a member of that party, I ſhould ſay, he was one *who believed in the late miniſtry*. And therefore whatever I have affirmed of *whigs* in any of theſe papers, or objected againſt them, ought to be underſtood either of thoſe who were partiſans of the late men in power and privy to their deſigns, or ſuch who joined with them from a hatred to our monarchy and church, as unbelievers and *diſſenters* of all ſizes; or men in office, who had been guilty of much corruption and dreaded a change, which would not only put a ſtop to further abuſes for the future, but might perhaps introduce examinations of what was paſt; or thoſe who had been too highly obliged to quit their ſupporters with any common decency; or laſtly, the *money traders*, who could never hope to make their markets ſo well of *premiums*,

† Prince George of Denmark.

premiums, and exorbitant intereſt, and high remittances by any other adminiſtration.

UNDER theſe heads may be reduced the whole body of thoſe, whom I have all along underſtood for *whigs*; for I do not include within this number any of thoſe, who have been miſled by ignorance, or ſeduced by plauſible pretences, to think better of that ſort of men than they deſerve, and to apprehend mighty dangers from their diſgrace; becauſe, I believe the greateſt part of ſuch well meaning people are now thoroughly converted.

AND indeed it muſt be allowed, that the two fantaſtic names of *whig* and *tory* have at preſent very little relation to thoſe opinions, which were at firſt thought to diſtinguiſh them. Whoever formerly profeſſed himſelf to approve the *revolution*, to be againſt the Pretender, to juſtify the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover, to think the Britiſh monarchy not abſolute, but limited by laws which the executive power could not diſpenſe with, and to allow an indulgence to ſcrupulous conſciences; ſuch a man was content to be called a *whig*. On the other ſide, whoever aſſerted the Queen's hereditary right, that the perſons of Princes were ſacred, their lawful authority not to be reſiſted on any pretence, nor even their uſurpations, without the moſt extreme neceſſity; that breaches in the ſucceſſion were highly dangerous; that *ſchiſm* was a great evil both in itſelf and its conſequences; that the ruin of the *church* would probably be attended with that of the *ſtate*; that no power ſhould be truſted with thoſe who are not of the eſtabliſhed religion; ſuch a man was uſually called a *tory*. Now, altho' the opinions of both theſe are very conſiſtent, and I really think are maintained at preſent by a great majority of the kingdom; yet according as men apprehend the danger greater, either from the *Pretender* and his party, or from the violence and cunning of other *enemies* to the conſtitution, ſo their common diſcourſes and reaſonings turn either to the firſt or ſecond ſett of theſe opinions I have mentioned, and they are conſequently ſtyled either *whigs* or *tories*. Which is as if two *brothers* apprehended their houſe would be ſet upon, but diſagreed about the place from whence they thought the *robbers* would come, and therefore would go on different ſides to defend it; they muſt needs

weaken and expoſe themſelves by ſuch a *ſeparation*: and ſo did we, only our caſe was worſe; for in order to keep off a *weak remote enemy*, from whom we could not ſuddenly apprehend any danger, we took a *nearer* and a *ſtronger* one into the *houſe*. I make no compariſon at all between the two enemies; *popery* and *ſlavery* are without doubt the greateſt and moſt dreadful of any; but I may venture to affirm, that the fears of theſe have not, at leaſt ſince the *revolution*, been ſo cloſe and preſſing upon us as that from *another faction*; excepting only one ſhort period, when the leaders of that very faction invited the abdicated King to return; of which I have formerly taken notice.

HAVING thus declared, what ſort of perſons I have always meant under the denomination of *whigs*, it will be eaſy to ſhew whom I underſtand by *tories*. Such whoſe principles in church and ſtate are what I have above related; whoſe actions are derived from thence, and who have no attachment to any ſett of *miniſters*, further than as they are friends to the conſtitution in all its parts; but will do their utmoſt to ſave their Prince and country, *whoever* be at the helm.

BY theſe deſcriptions of *whig* and *tory*, I am ſenſible thoſe names are given to ſeveral perſons very undeſervedly; and that many a man is called by one or the other, who has not the leaſt title to the blame or praiſe I have beſtowed on each of them throughout my papers.

No 44. Thurſday, June 7. 1711.

Magna vis eſt, magnum nomen, unum et idem ſentientis ſenatus.

WHOEVER calls to mind the clamour and the calumny, the artificial fears and jealouſies, the ſhameful miſrepreſentation of perſons and of things, that were raiſed and ſpread by the leaders and inſtruments of a *certain party*, upon the change of the laſt miniſtry and diſſolution of parliament; if he be a true lover of his country, muſt feel a mighty pleaſure, altho' mixed with ſome indignation, to ſee the wiſhes, the conjectures, the

wherein I ſuppoſe by this time they are equally undeceived.

BUT this long ſeſſion being in a manner ended, which ſeveral circumſtances and one *accident* altogether unforeſeen, have drawn out beyond the uſual time; it may be ſome ſmall piece of juſtice to ſo excellent an aſſembly barely to mention a few of thoſe great things they have done for the ſervice of their Queen and country, which I ſhall take notice of juſt as they come to my memory.

THE credit of the nation began mightily to ſuffer by a diſcount upon Exchequer bills, which have been generally reckoned the ſureſt and moſt ſacred of all ſecurities. The preſent Lord Treaſurer, then a member of the houſe of Commons, propoſed a method, which was immediately complied with, of raiſing them to a *par* with *ſpecie*; and ſo they have ever ſince continued.

THE Britiſh colonies of Nevis and St Chriſtopher's had been miſerably plundered by the French, their houſes burnt, their plantations deſtroyed, and many of the inhabitants carried away priſoners; they had often, for ſome years paſt, applied in vain for relief from hence; until the preſent parliament, conſidering their condition as a caſe of juſtice and mercy, voted them one hundred thouſand pounds by way of recompence in ſome manner for their ſufferings.

SOME perſons, whom the voice of the nation authoriſeth me to call her *enemies*, taking advantage of the general naturalization act, had invited over a great number of foreigners of all religions under the name of *palatines*, who underſtood no trade or handicraft, yet rather choſe to beg than labour; who, beſides infeſting our ſtreets, bred contagious diſeaſes, by which we loſt in *natives* thrice the number of what we gained in *foreigners*. The houſe of Commons, as a remedy againſt this evil, brought in a bill for repealing that act of general naturalization; which, to the ſurprize of moſt people, was rejected by the Lords. And upon this occaſion I muſt allow myſelf to have been juſtly rebuked by one of my weekly monitors for pretending, in a former paper, to hope that law would be repealed; wherein the Commons being diſappointed, took care however to ſend many of the *palatines*

away,

away, and to repreſent their being invited over as a pernicious counſel.

THE *qualification-bill*, incapacitating all men to ſerve in parliament, who have not ſome eſtate in land either in poſſeſſion or certain reverſion, is perhaps the greateſt ſecurity that ever was contrived for preſerving the conſtitution, which otherwiſe might in a little time lie wholly at the mercy of the *monied* intereſt. And ſince much the greateſt part of the taxes is paid either immediately from land or from its productions, it is but common juſtice, that thoſe, who are the proprietors, ſhould appoint what portion of it ought to go to the ſupport of the public; otherwiſe the engroſſers of money would be apt to lay heavy loads on others, which themſelves never touch with one of their fingers.

THE public debts were ſo prodigiouſly increaſed by the negligence and corruption of thoſe, who had been managers of the revenue, that the late miniſters, like careleſs men who run out their fortunes, were ſo far from any thoughts of payment, that they had not the courage to ſtate or compute them. The parliament found, that thirty-five millions had never been accounted for; and that the debt on the navy, wholly unprovided for, amounted to nine millions. The late Chancellor of the Exchequer *, ſuitable to his tranſcendent genius for public affairs, propoſed a fund to be ſecurity for that immenſe debt, which is now confirmed by a law, and is likely to prove the greateſt reſtoration and eſtabliſhment of the kingdom's credit. Not content with this, the legiſlature hath appointed commiſſioners of accompts to inſpect into paſt miſmanagements of the public money, and prevent them for the future.

I have, in a former paper, mentioned the act for building fifty new churches in London and Weſtminſter, with a fund appropriated for that pious and [illegible] while I am mentioning acts of [illegible] to conceal my Lord High [illegible] on, which hath extended [illegible] Lordſhip having [illegible] jeſty the firſt fruits and [illegible]

* [illegible]

as he is known to have before done to that reverend body here *.

THE act for carrying on a trade to the South-ſea, propoſed by the ſame great perſon, whoſe thoughts are perpetually employed, and ever with ſucceſs, on the good of his country, will in all probability, if duly executed, be of mighty advantage to the kingdom, and an everlaſting honour to the preſent parliament.

I might go on further, and mention that ſeaſonable law againſt exceſſive gaming; the putting a ſtop to that ſcandalous fraud of falſe muſters in the guards; the diligent and effectual enquiry made by the Commons into ſeveral groſs abuſes. I might produce many inſtances of their impartial juſtice in deciding controverted elections againſt *former example*, and great provocations to retaliate. I might ſhew their chearful readineſs in granting ſuch vaſt ſupplies; their great unanimity, not to be broken by all the arts of a malicious and cunning faction; their unfeigned duty to the Queen; and laſtly, that repreſentation made to her Majeſty from the houſe of Commons, diſcovering ſuch a ſpirit and diſpoſition in that noble aſſembly to redreſs all thoſe evils, which a long male-adminiſtration had brought upon us.

IT is probable, that truſting only to my memory I may have omitted many things of great importance; neither do I pretend further in the compaſs of this paper than to give the world ſome general, however imperfect, idea how worthily this great aſſembly hath diſcharged the truſt of thoſe, who ſo freely choſe them; and what we may reaſonably hope and expect from the piety, courage, wiſdom, and loyalty of ſuch excellent patriots in a time ſo fruitful of occaſions to exert the greateſt abilities.

AND now I conceive the main deſign I had in writing theſe papers is fully executed. A great majority of the nation is at length thoroughly convinced, that the Queen proceeded with the higheſt wiſdom in changing her miniſtry and parliament; that under a former adminiſtration the greateſt abuſes of all kinds were committed, and the moſt dangerous attempts againſt the conſtitution for ſome time intended. The whole kingdom finds the preſent

* See the author's letters to Archbiſhop King, vol. iv. p. 212. —217.

ſent perſons in power directly and openly purſuing the true ſervice of their Queen and country; and to be ſuch, whom their moſt bitter enemies cannot tax with bribery, covetouſneſs, ambition, pride, inſolence, or any pernicious principles in religion or government.

FOR my own particular, thoſe little barking curs, which have ſo conſtantly purſued me, I take to be of no further conſequence to what I have written, than the ſcoffing ſlaves of old, placed behind the chariot to put the General in mind of his mortality; which was but a thing of form, and made no ſtop or diſturbance in the ſhow. However, if thoſe perpetual ſnarlers againſt me had the ſame deſign, I muſt own they have effectually compaſſed it; ſince nothing can well be more mortifying than to reflect, that I am of the ſame ſpecies with creatures capable of uttering ſo much ſcurrility, dulneſs, falſhood, and impertinence, to the ſcandal and diſgrace of human nature.

N° 45. Thurſday, June 14. 1711.

Melius non tangere clamo.

WHEN a General hath conquered an army, and reduced a country to obedience, he often findeth it neceſſary to ſend out ſmall bodies, in order to take in petty caſtles and forts; and beat little ſtraggling parties, which are otherwiſe apt to make head and infeſt the neighbourhood. This caſe reſembleth mine. I count the main body of the *whigs* intirely ſubdued; at leaſt, until they appear with new reinforcements, I ſhall reckon them as ſuch; and therefore do now find myſelf at leiſure to *examine* inferior abuſes. The buſineſs I have left, is to fall on thoſe wretches who would ſtill be keeping the war on foot, when they have no country to defend, no forces to bring into the field, nor any thing remaining, but their bare good-will towards *faction* and *miſchief*; I mean the preſent ſett of writers, whom I have ſuffered, without moleſtation, ſo long to infeſt the town. If there were not a concurrence *from prejudice*, party, weak underſtanding, and miſre

preſentation, I ſhould think them too inconſiderable in themſelves to deſerve correction: but, as my endeavour hath been to expoſe the groſs impoſitions of the *fallen party*, I will give a taſte in the following petition, of the ſincerity of their *factors*; to ſhew how little thoſe writers for the *whigs* were guided by conſcience or honour; their buſineſs being only to gratify a private intereſt.

To the Right Honourable the preſent Miniſtry, the humble Petition of the Party-writers of the late miniſtry,

Humbly ſheweth,

"THAT your Petitioners have ſerved their time "to the trade of writing *pamphlets*, and *weekly papers*, in "defence of the *whigs*, againſt the church of England, "and the Chriſtian religion, and her Majeſty's preroga- "tive, and title to the crown: that, ſince the late change "of her miniſtry, and meeting of this parliament, the "ſaid trade is mightily fallen off, and the call for the "ſaid pamphlets and papers much leſs than formerly; "and it is feared, to our further prejudice, that the *Ex-* "*aminer* may diſcontinue writing; whereby ſome of your "petitioners will be brought to utter diſtreſs; for as "much as through falſe quotations, noted abſurdities, "and other legal abuſes, many of your petitioners, to "their great comfort and ſupport, were enabled to pick "up a weekly ſubſiſtance out of the ſaid *Examiner*.

"That your ſaid poor petitioners did humbly offer "your honours to write in defence of the late change "of miniſtry and parliament, much cheaper than they "did for your predeceſſors: which your honours were "pleaſed to refuſe.

"NOTWITHSTANDING which offer, your petitioners "are under daily apprehenſion, that your honours will "forbid them to follow the ſaid trade any longer; by "which your petitioners, to the number of fourſcore, "with their wives and families, will inevitably ſtarve; "having been bound to no other calling."

"YOUR petitioners deſire your Honours will tenderly "conſider the premiſſes, and ſuffer your ſaid peti- "tioners to continue their trade (thoſe who ſet them

"as

" at work being ſtill willing to employ them, (altho'
" at lower rates) and your ſaid petitioners will give ſe-
" curity to make uſe of the ſame ſtuff, and dreſs it in
" the ſame manner, as they always did, and no other."

And your petitioners, &c.

IT is a certain ſign, that a man is in the right, when he raiſeth all the ſcribblers againſt him: I have ſometimes had it in my head to write a particular hiſtory of abuſes and corruptions. As I find myſelf at leiſure this ſummer, I ſhall purſue the deſign; where, beſides enumerating the groſs defect, not only of duty and reſpect to the moſt gracious Queen that ever reigned; I propoſe to ſhew in every article, how wrong all things were managed under the late miniſtry; how right they are now, and according to the *conſtitution*. Such a hiſtory would be the beſt means, not only to expoſe the principal actors, but the weekly hirelings who toil in their defence; who are ſo notoriouſly diſingenuous, ſo diſtant from matter of fact, ſo ſhort of that ſpirit and entertainment which too often mingle with ſuch pens as dip only in falſities; that, if I were to rake into their particular abſurdities (an attempt which they are ſecured from by their exceſſive dulneſs;) I ſhould have reaſon to look upon my ſufferings little ſhort of the merit of that Roman, who, by leaping into a bottomleſs gulph, ſacrificed his life to preſerve his country.

I have been often wondering how it comes to paſs, that the late men in power ſhould be ſo ill provided with writers; conſidering at what full leiſure the heads and leaders of them are, and I hope will ever be; they might certainly have made a wiſer and more judicious collection. If, as ſome imagine, their own hands have dipt in ink, and that they themſelves have a ſhare in dreſſing up the *Medley* and *Obſervator*; it is a plain diſcovery, that their ſpeculations are as mean and low as their practices: for, how can we conceive that the politeneſs and ſound judgment of *one*, ſhould ever deſcend to Billingſgate, pedantry and nonſenſe? Or that a *ſecond*, who oweth his reputation of wit to his neighbours, ſhould every day make his court officiouſly to a certain great miniſter, and *yet once a week* ſo clumſily abuſe him in his writings?

When I consider the factious spirit (if any spirit they have) of these papers, I can hardly look for the author of them in *one*, who by what means soever better convinced, had once so much of that sort of loyalty as to profess himself a *non-juror*.

WITH humble submission to worse judgments, I must determine that the author of the *Medley* is a dunce out of his element; pretending to intermeddle with *raillery* and *irony*, wherein he hath no manner of taste or understanding: his topic of raillery may be all reduced under those two words, QUOTH HE; which he seldom faileth in any one of his papers, to be arch with. His *irony* consisteth of the words, MY FRIEND, altho' sometimes relieved with an epithet. Doth he think that when he saith my *impious friend*, my *stupid friend*, and the like; saith it in every paper, and often a dozen times in one; that this is either wit, humour or satire? If I were *impious* or *stupid*, I should really hope to be his friend, and think he spoke in earnest. *Irony* is not a work for such groveling pens, but extreme difficult, even to the best; it is one of the most beautiful strokes of *rhetoric*, and which asketh a master-hand to carry on and finish with success: but when a bungler attempteth beyond his skill; what was at first mishapen, with aukward polishing becometh entirely deformed: as the false beauty of paint upon a lady's face is less desirable than no beauty at all; and the pertness of a shallow fop, more disagreeable than his silence.

I should not have descended so much below the dignity of this paper, as to regard the course of these muddy writers, did not the heads of the late faction still endeavour to corrupt the minds of weak people, who are at a distance from the metropolis, by their diligence and liberality in circulating these weekly poisons *gratis*. Great numbers are constantly sent into the country, to prepossess the reader against the *Examiner*; for no other reason, but because they would still mislead and prevent their being set right in facts, that they might not see how well the people did to assist the church and Queen: to this end they have been forced to make use of gross falsities, without the least appearance of truth: but, however, those more modest of their party here, may blush and wonder

at the assurance of their friends; it serves their design in the country, where truth arrives late; and since the mercy of the government, or rather a just contempt still suffers these writers to continue these efforts, it is not doubted *there*, but what they deliver is, at least, free from notorious falshood. But those clouds of ignorance will certainly fly before that light, which now shines throughout the nation from the *representation* offered to her Majesty, by the best *house of Commons* that ever sate; who come the nearest to our *happy constitution*, both in the freedom of their elections, and that true English spirit, which have unanimously carried the majority of them thro', to the end of this memorable *sessions*. In which *representation* the people may be convinced, that five parts in six of what the *Examiners* have charged on the late ministry and faction are true: which is so glorious, so unanswerable a justification of these papers, that any longer to declaim against them, will be as vain and insignificant, as it hath always been a ridiculous endeavour.

No 46. Thursday, June 21. 1711.

Pauca tamen suberunt priscæ vestigia fraudis.

I HOPE my countrymen will believe, that I have a very good occasion to congratulate with them upon the Queen's speech: all the honest part must be of opinion, that nothing ever proceeded from the throne more glorious for our representatives in parliament; or more gracious and satisfactory to the nation. Could there, amidst that awful assembly, be any heart untouched at the voice of such a Queen? Recollecting her piety, the uprightness of her life, her unwearied prayers and endeavours for the prosperity of her people; from whose interests her's were never divided.

HER Majesty filled every loyal breast with joy, when, with her graceful air, and elegant manner of delivery, she told her parliament, "The pleasure she took to see the "performance of those promises they had made her at "the beginning of the sessions; their complying with "her desire to propagate the service of God, in the build-"*ing so many* new churches: enabling her to carry on

" the war; making effectual provision for paying those " debts, which were almoſt grown an inſupportable bur- " then on the public; when our enemies every where " flattered themſelves, that ſupplies for the ſervice of the " current year could not have been found."

COULD any thing be more grateful to true Britiſh ſpirits, who had done their utmoſt towards retrieving our diſorders, than to be applauded for diſappointing the enemies of the nation, *in all reſpects!* Not only by their raiſing greater ſums than ever were granted to any Prince, in one ſeſſion; but for reſtoring *public credit*; a bleſſing ſo invaluable, and ſo much deſpaired of by our enemies, that they concluded it impoſſible for the miniſtry and parliament to extricate us out of thoſe amazing difficulties, whereinto we had been plunged. And truly, if we impartially conſider the meaſures upon which the late men in power proceeded, we ſhall find it extremely difficult to give any ſatisfactory account to reaſon or policy, for their notorious depeculations; (if my friend the *Medley* will give me leave to make uſe of that word;) unleſs, like ſome momentary conquerors, they reſolved to waſte that empire they could not keep.

I am very well aſſured, that the former miniſtry, after a long run of ill huſbandry, were often at their wits-end (until things grew riper for that change they had projected) how to prevent, from breaking all at once upon the public, that report which they knew would ruin their deſigns. The whole government ſubſiſted upon preſent credit, altho' vaſt ſums were annually given to ſupport the war; which were ſo far from being applied this way, that every year we were plunged more and more in debt: it is true, the parliament voted ſubſidies, and the willing people chearfully paid them, in hopes, by an honourable peace, they ſhould quickly ſee the end of their miſeries and taxes: yet the arrear to the navy, and other charges, ran on; the miniſtry put a good face upon a decaying conſtitution; they employed all their arts to conceal the real diſtreſs we were in; they procured that money ſhould be lent at five *per cent.* whilſt the unhappy creditors were forced to give from 20 to 40 *per cent.* diſcompt, for every farthing they received upon the bills aſſigned them by

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the government. This they very well knew was such ill management, as could not be long concealed: they had separately and prodigiously enriched themselves, to preserve their wealth and authority; but now they must invade the constitution. As to their own possessions, an *act of indemnity* had secured them: and for the rest, they had little more to risque, than whether they should remain opulent subjects, altho' without any share in the power; or become masters, without limitation.

Avarice is ever insatiable! How then must it destroy, when it has the wealth of a nation to feed on? The miseries of the people, the tears and groans of poor seamen and their families, were not regarded by these devourers; universal frauds and abuses not only winked at, but encouraged; trade not dying, but dead: it is true, public credit was still alive, but subsisted only upon strong cordials; in utter ignorance of her approaching dissolution. Yet, no one step was made by these *state physicians*, towards preventing her apparent decease; much less did they take any thought about curing the malady they had occasioned; they were not so void of reason as to be ignorant of the condition they had reduced us to; they did know it, and stood provided of a *remedy* to secure themselves (which a little time would perfect to their wish), and which all good subjects must tremble to think on; a *remedy* a thousand times worse than the *disease*; where, instead of an *indulgent lawful* Queen, we must have referred to a lawless *junta*, and to an *arbitrary Captain General*.

But now, God be praised, our fears are dissipated: the Queen is free, and acts entirely according to her own judgment and inclination; the parliament acquiesceth in whatever she requireth: we have proved the happy effects of their mutual confidence; and, as her Majesty telleth us from the throne, 'She shall look upon any attempt 'to lessen it, as a step towards dissolving her government.'

I could make many useful reflections upon the present happy change of our condition; the different state of security to our constitution, wherein this session hath left us, from the fears that possessed us upon the ending of the last; the dread and apprehension the majority of the kingdom were then in, lest that parliament should fix

any more; the longings and impatiencies of the people, until her Majeſty ſhall think fit, that *thoſe* may meet again.

WHILE the ſinking credit of the nation hath been thus retrieved, by the great abilities and induſtry of the preſent miniſtry and parliament; the *convocation*, no leſs uſefully employed in the cauſe of piety, have drawn up a 'repreſentation of the preſent ſtate of religion, with re-'gard to the late exceſſive growth of infidelity, hereſy, 'and profaneneſs; unanimouſly agreed upon a joint 'committee of both houſes of the province of Canter-'bury; and afterwards rejected by the upper houſe, but 'paſſed in the lower.'

I am ſorry theſe pious labourers ſhould be baffled, in their godly endeavours, by their own brethren: I have formerly, in two *Examiners*, touched upon the nature of this *ſynod*, and their diviſions, together with the Queen's letter, and deſire to reconcile all differences and diſputes; and hoped to ſee the happy effects of her exhortation. The *inferior clergy* have proceeded with a ſpirit truly primitive; their *repreſentation* is writ with ſuch force of eloquence and argument, as muſt warm the coldeſt heart. The narrow compaſs of this paper will not permit me to enumerate all the heads: "They trace the deluge of "*impiety*, from that long and unnatural rebellion, which "looſened all the bands of diſcipline and order; whence "hypocriſy and enthuſiaſm begat a diſregard for the "very appearance of religion; and ended in a ſpirit of "downright libertiniſm and profaneneſs: whence adver-"ſaries aroſe, who openly ſcattered the poiſon of *Arian* "and *Socinian* hereſies; the Godhead of the Holy Spirit "denied; myſteries exploded, as implying contradicti-"ons, and incapable of becoming objects of aſſent to "reaſonable minds, *&c.* From theſe wicked principles, "wicked practices have followed; frequency of oaths "and imprecations; all manner of exceſs and luxury, "gaming upon the Lord's day, *&c.*" Upon which I muſt beg leave to ſubjoin, that a certain late *great miniſter* (in the good company of Sir James of the Peak, and others of the ſame ſort) always made play his Sunday's entertainment.

IN this *repreſentation* we have a melancholy proſpect

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of the ſtate of our religion; ſuch amazing impieties can be equalled by nothing but by thoſe cities of old deſtroyed by fire from heaven: nor can that deluge of profaneneſs, which over-runs the nation, have any check from the pious endeavours of our clergy, whilſt the majority, on one part, continue to diſagree with the other, about the manner of putting eſſentials in execution. Mean time, the cauſe of Chriſtianity muſt ſuffer, and our convocations ſtill have the diſreputation of doing nothing. The *repreſentation* which themſelves have tranſmitted to the lower houſe, is the ſame in very many of the facts: as to the difference of ſtyle and ſpirit, I conceive that doth not relate to the ſervice of religion in general, any more than when I am exceſſive cold, whether I would chuſe to be warmed by a quicker or more languid fire. Nor can I without pleaſure take notice of one paragraph, where they hope, "That eſpecial care will be had of "the education of young people at the univerſities; "that tutors may teach their pupils the principles of the "Chriſtian religion, and endeavour to make them ſerious "in it; with a particular eye to all ſuch who are deſign-"for holy orders." Where ſuch reverend prelates are concerned, it were a ſort of ſacrilege to diſpute their ſincerity: after this, dare any perſon imagine that their doctrine and their intentions can differ; or, that ſo grave and venerable a body, upon ſo ſolemn an occaſion, would deal in *irony*, or explain their meaning by contraries? This muſt doubtleſs convince all ſuch, who have hitherto, upon a wrong interpretation, preſumed to ſquare opinions by theirs, and have, with loud exclamations, ſhewn their abhorrence of an univerſity-education, as tainting our youth with the principles of loyalty to ſovereigns, and an implicit obedience to the ſlaviſh doctrines of the church.

As this admonition muſt ſatisfy ſuch who ſurmiſed, that the majority did not approve educating children in the univerſity; ſo the unhappy fate that hath been put to the deſigned *repreſentation*, hath given the enemies of our holy religion (too numerous and politic a party to be armed by ourſelves againſt ourſelves) a ſeeming occaſion to deride our diviſions: and, as if thoſe ſolemn proceedings were all but a jeſt, theſe ungodly perſons are not afraid

fraid to be merry with the conceit of the upper houſe's diſſenting from what five of their own members had before, in a committee, agreed to in the lower; as if they were acting a religious farce, called, *A convocation and no convocation*; nor will they believe our biſhops can have ſuch concurrent fears of the growth of *impiety*, when they do not proceed in the means that ſhould put an effectual ſtop to it, only for a *form:* or, to uſe the words of our church adverſaries, until the laſt remaining encroachment be made by the upper houſe upon the privileges of the lower.

THESE reflections are arrows in the heart of every honeſt church-man; we would recriminate in vain, our enemies flatter themſelves we lie too open for a defence; we muſt therefore be content to wait with *patience* and *prayer*, for a remedy to theſe *misfortunes*, until the *Lord of the harveſt*, in his good time, *ſhall ſeparate the tares from the wheat.*

No 47. Thurſday, June 26. 1711.

Conſolor ſocios ut longi tædia belli
Mente ferant placida.

I SUPPOSE ſome wit and much leiſure, have made it a faſhion among ingenious perſons to ſend letters, by way of aſſiſtance, to us weekly writers. It is eaſy to imagine, that I have had my ſhare of ſuch contributions; for which altho' I be very thankful, yet I muſt confeſs, with ſome vanity, that my mind is rather burdened than relieved by thoſe intelligences. If I take notice of ſome, and not of others, I proportionably diſoblige: however, as they fall in my way, I promiſe to do what lieth in my power, towards introducing into the world the works of thoſe *anonymous* perſons who are ſo fond of being authors.

IN the firſt place, out of his exceeding zeal to the cauſe, *one* is alarmed at the induſtry of the *whigs*, in aiming to ſtrengthen their *routed party*, by a reinforcement from the circumciſed; as not contented with *Arians, Socinians, Free-thinkers*, and all ſorts of Chriſtian ſects.

ſectaries; beſides a conſiderable number of *apoſtates*, or if you pleaſe *deſerters*, from our own body; and therefore recommendeth to me, that ſome care may be taken to put a ſtop to theſe gallimaufry meetings, theſe prohibited conjunctions of Jews and Chriſtians; ſince in order to bring thoſe infidels within the wide circle of *whiggiſh* community, neither blandiſhments nor promiſes are omitted; the very women proving acceſſaries: as for example, a certain *great Lady*, with ſome beauteous auxiliaries, did not diſdain to grace Sir Solomon Medina's magnificent ball and collation; nor was the young Ducheſs (altho' a toaſt of the firſt rate) in the leaſt diſguſted at giving her hand to dance in partnerſhip with a frowzy Jew.

ANOTHER perſon ſendeth me a letter, complaining of the ſmall reputation of the Queen's phyſicians; this careful perſon ſeemeth to belong to the church by his expreſſion, where he blames the late miniſtry for imitating Jeroboam, who ordained prieſts out of the loweſt of the people; and confining that ſacred life, the *breath of our noſtrils*, to the charge and care of ſuch men, to whoſe ſlender abilities they would be very far from truſting their own.

THE third cometh from a ſufferer under the late *junto*; one who, remaining fully ſatisfied of his own merit, repines that others have not the like valuable eſtimation; and are not expeditious enough in rewarding the ſaid merit: he therefore recommendeth to me a ſubject, neceſſary to be read by all who have pretenſions, or live in a court, called, *The nature of delay, or the virtues and advantages of procraſtination.*

A fourth perſon is ſenſibly picqued at the *Medley*'s popular reflection, "That the Queen's moſt gracious "ſpeech ſhould be printed in *Abel*'s *Poſt-boy*, with this "very juſt concluſion: but we have lived to ſee the day "wherein every thing great and illuſtrious among men "is treated with an unbecoming familiarity: all orders "of men muſt expect to be huddled into the vile multi-"tude, and uſed as if they had not ſenſe of glory or in-"famy." My correſpondent enquireth, what devil owes this *writer* and his *party* a ſhame, to make *him* talk *of a day? That ſcandalous day!* when inſignificant [illegible]

and forward *attorney clerks* were hoiſted above the knowledge of themſelves, or their remembrance of others; not only perverting to their ſeveral uſes the treaſure of the nation, but preſuming to give laws even to their ſovereign; *that* was, indeed, a *day which we have all lived to ſee, when all things great and illuſtrious among men*, were, by arrogant upſtarts, treated not only *with an unbecoming familiarity*, but with treachery and pride; when it might be truly ſaid, that under ſuch petty and yet arbitrary diſpenſation, "all orders of men were hud-"dled into the vile multitude, and uſed as if they had "not ſenſe of glory or infamy."

THE fifth letter recounts a ſcandalous paſſage that happened at the auction of the late Mr Bernard's library; and prayeth me to give all befitting diſcouragement to ſuch enormities: it ſeemeth ſome gentlemen were talking of a ſcarce book which treated of ſpirits and apparitions; one of them aſked Mr Toland, what he thought of *ghoſts?* Whether he had any belief of ſuch things? He readily anſwered, he was ſo far from believing *ghoſts*, that he did not believe what men call the *Holy Ghoſt*.

THE next (whom I ſhall do the favour to ſhew at length, becauſe he calleth himſelf a *whig*, and may poſſibly charge me with an unfair quotation, if I ſink any part of what he hath wrote) ſends me an invitation to come over to his ſide; but leſt this may be thought *gaſconade*, I had beſt refer to the original letter.

SIR,

"YOU have ſtood the ſhock of the ſhallow writers, "aided by the beſt *finiſhers* of our party, with ſo much "reputation, and ſo much to their confuſion, that I who "have a value for your perſon and abilities (but an a-"verſion to your cauſe) adviſe you to renounce the "*tories*, and come over to *us*. Their buſineſs is done, "they have no more occaſion for your pen; you muſt "therefore expect to be neglected and forgotten, as your "fellow-labourers have been. Whom have they ever "rewarded? They go quite contrary to our maxim; "none, altho' ever ſo undeſerving, have ſuffered impriſon-"ment and hardſhip for us; but we look on it as our "common intereſt to protect and uphold them, becauſe

"we

'we have but *one*, the *tories* as *many* intereſts as there 'are perſons. Beſides, in writing for the ſtrongeſt ſide, 'you have commiſeration againſt you: nor need your a-'poſtacy fear finding its account, for the reaſons before 'mentioned, and one more very conſiderable, which is, 'that falſe witneſſes are always well paid. The only 'objection can be made againſt this propoſal, is, you 'may think, perhaps, you have ſo far incenſed us by 'your many diſcoveries of our *Arcana*, that you cannot 'expect to be received with any degree of warmth or 'confidence. If this be your opinion, you are a great 'ſtranger to our principles; we never refuſe to accept 'an enemy with open arms, when we can thereby ſtrengthen our own, or weaken our adverſaries party; we are 'ſo far true politicians, that both our love and hatred always give way to our intereſt: but beſides, all muſt 'know our own blind ſide, which was never proof a-'gainſt flattery, how fulſome or unjuſt ſoever. How 'many authors, with no other merit, flouriſhed under 'the late miniſtry! I would therefore adviſe you to 'write a treatiſe, which will be very faſhionable and uſe-'ful, called, *The art of ſhifting ſides*, and dedicate it 'in theſe, or the like terms:'

To all honeſt Whig-gentlemen, and virtuous Whig-ladies in and about the cities and liberties of London and Weſtminſter.

GENTLEMEN and LADIES,

A MAN who ventures to publiſh bold truths in theſe days of toryiſm and arbitrary government, unleſs he hath a powerful intereſt to ſupport him, muſt expect to be ſcurvily treated by the perſecuting part of the world; without very good ſeconds, he may ſhew abundance of zeal, but little diſcretion; like thoſe knights of old, who uſed to plunge alone into the midſt of armed foes. The only difference between the courage of the hero, and that of the author, ſeemeth to lie in the ſucceſs: one meeteth with Tyburn, Newgate, or at beſt a meſſenger; whilſt the other gallantly reſcueth his miſtreſs; or carrieth off the *prize. For this* reaſon I preſume to apply to you for your

tection, and I hope to make my future ſervices atone for my paſt offences. You are too conſiderable, both in number and power, to fear a defeat; and too zealous of the truth, to ſuffer its champion to be borne down and trampled upon by enemies.

Gentlemen, Your very adverſaries cannot deny but you have more money than they, and conſequently muſt give up the ſuperiority of wit: and altho' they have diſputed the point of honeſty, it appears, the balance now lieth entirely on your ſide; witneſs the many unanſwerable ſteps you have taken for the good of the nation, the wonders of your late adminiſtration, your reſpect and honour for the true intereſt of your Queen and country, your concern for the public credit, and your readineſs to advance money upon great emergencies, where the ſafety of the ſtate ſo eminently required it.

Ladies, Were your plea to virtue and beauty leſs evident, you might ſtand more in need of a champion; but I never heard any who durſt preſume to ſay, you have more virtue than beauty, or leſs humility than prudence; you ſhine in your zeal for the cauſe, and your condeſcenſion is ſo bright a part of your character, that there are few men, how deſpicable ſoever, but what have found the happy effect of it.

S I R,

'By my intimacy and ſtation among them, I have ſo 'exact a knowledge of what will pleaſe, that I have ſent 'you this rough draught, which I will undertake to be 'the univerſal ſenſe of our party; only leaving you to 'model it, after ſuch a manner as you think beſt. I 'hope, you will not defer your converſion, but con'clude this a mark of my kindneſs for you. Pray make 'your advantage of this advice, and you will very much 'rejoice,

S I R,

Your affectionate friend,

and humble ſervant.

No 48. Thurſday, July 12. 1711.

—— Neque ſemper arcum
Tendit Apollo.

IT ſometimes happens that I am either ſick, or lazy, or ſplenetick; and ſometimes, perhaps like other authors of great reputation, I am dull by deſign. In ſuch unlucid intervals it falleth out, that three or four of my papers are inferior to the reſt: however, the credit of the former keeps them up a while; and even judicious people are often prejudiced for a week or two in their favour; or perhaps are ſo candid to expect a better next time. But the majority of readers go on with the ſame appetite, whether the paper be good or bad, until they are taught by their betters what their ſentiments are to be. It thus fareth between me and the *Medley*, who, although he hath been always ſo liberal with his epithets, as if he had them by him ready printed, and had nothing to do every week but fill up the blanks; yet, in one or two of his laſt papers he hath outdone himſelf, becauſe ſome body hath told him that the *Examiner* is grown dull. I fear they have told him truth: and how can it be otherwiſe, when I am deſcended from animadverting upon the corruptions in the late adminiſtration, to be an antagoniſt of his? I had hopes of giving ſome diverſion to the town and myſelf, during this idle ſeaſon of the year, by expoſing the follies of his productions; but find I have been unhappily infected with the ſtupidity I deſign to ridicule. This *Medley* is the perfect reverſe of Sir John Falſtaffe; he is not only dull himſelf, but he is alſo the cauſe that dulneſs is in other men. However, I think I have found out a way to read his papers, from henceforward, without danger to my underſtanding; and therefore I now give him notice, that I deſign to write with wit and ſpirit for ſome time; which otherwiſe he would hardly apprehend until about a month hence.

He hath injured me in ſaying, *I inſult her Majeſty's phyſicians*; I only repeat the words of my correſpondent

if the Queen diſcard her preſent phyſicians, he is at a loſs how we ſhall find *tories* to ſupply their places: *becauſe* he aſſureth us, *the* tories *are as great quacks in ſcience, as in politics*: If the trial of quackery muſt be determined by ſkill in politics, I dare appeal to the *whig* phyſicians themſelves, to decide which are the quacks; and whether the *tories* of the faculty have not made much better prognoſtics upon the body politic, by chuſing to adhere to the preſent miniſtry.

And, if reſpect to the Queen's perſon be the queſtion; the *Medley* ſure is not well in his wits, to revive the memory of that defect for which ſome of his party have been famous. Suppoſe him really ignorant; upon ever ſo little recollection of any of his friends, he may quickly be informed which ſide have the beſt pretence that way to favour; ſince this writer, and I am glad to find it, can admit reverence and duty to her Majeſty are, although late, come to be conſidered as a ſort of merit.

Methinks this perſon, who will be my friend whether I will or no, putteth himſelf and me to much more trouble than he needeth: if he would fairly cavil with me, paper by paper, and then have done; there might be ſome hopes; but without end, I am to be perpetually worried and puniſhed this month for the ſins of the laſt; ſo that it is not properly *this Medley contra that Examiner*, but *every Medley againſt every Examiner*: when he ſeems this week to ſay all that his little invention and ſpight can ſupply, and I may ſafely conclude he hath exhauſted the ſubject; he returns, when I leaſt dream of him, with ſtale malice and double dulneſs, to empty that quiver which he hath filled with arrows from abroad: but when his mercileſs auxiliaries are withdrawn, ſome to pleaſure, others to debate how to retrieve, by caballing, what they loſt by ill conduct; or are amuſed by fawning at court; or diſabled by the diſorders of a broken conſtitution; this harmleſs perſon abateth very much of the poignancy of his ſatire.

Whilſt I was thus reflecting upon this famous *monitor*, my printer brought me ſeveral letters, but not all of them wrote by myſelf to the *Examiner*, as the ſagacious *Medley* ſuggeſteth; with his humble advice, that it would not be amiſs to print more frequently thoſe letters

A daily

I daily receive; his old way of judging of the goodneſs by the ſale, made him extol that paper, wherein I had lately obliged ſo many of my correſpondents, proteſting, that ſince the Roman triumph, or what he calls the *laurel crown* and Marcus Craſſus, he had not ſeen a greater call for any particular *Examiner:* the reaſon ſeemed plain; the under-hand endeavours of my fellow-writers have ſucceeded; the concurrent intereſt of many authors muſt be much more prevailing than that of one; in conſideration of which, I reſolved upon that eaſy method of filling up a paper, and at the ſame time obliging a friend.

The firſt letter complaineth with juſtice of the great neglect I have been guilty of, in letting the *Medley* boaſt himſelf ſo long upon the clauſe in the *Act of inſolvency*, relating to the receivers of the revenue: he exhorteth me to read carefully the act at length; where he aſſureth me, I ſhall find the requiſite ſanction included, altho' couched in other terms; from whence he infers, that whatever cunning was requiſite to the drawing up the ſaid act, he needeth not be a Volpone to diſcover the intent: he beggeth me to take this matter into *examination*, which I promiſe him ſhortly to do, although to the aboliſhing my antagoniſt's witty advertiſement, and confirming my own opinion; that a cunning knave will ſooner commit a hundred crimes (although of as black a dye; that come within a hair's breadth of the gallows) than one clumſy one, by which he may be made to mount it.

The ſecond letter is of ſuch a length, that I am ſorry it cannot be inſerted here: I find it ſo ingenious, that I do not think fit to abridge it: the gentleman treateth, with a deſcription very delicate, of the art of courts; or the means by which treacherous enemies are to a miracle transformed into faithful friends, profeſſed admirers, and moſt obſequious flatterers; with the great ſecret how to overcome that ſcrupulous modeſty which deters ſome few from imitating the reſt; and embracing with open arms thoſe whom, heretofore, they would have deſtroyed.

A third draweth up a very pathetick repreſentation of the hardſhips inflicted upon a reverend divine, late chaplain of Morden college upon Black Heath, for no other reaſon but his being an honeſt *tory*, and truly orthodox: *and really* the management ſeemeth ſo unfair, that if,

upon an exact enquiry, I find the facts to be true; ſuch as their letting part of the ſaid college to a coffee-houſe; reducing the number of twenty decayed merchants to twelve, and thoſe diſſenters; although the founder obliged his truſtees to no ſuch limitation; aſſigning twenty pounds a year for each perſon, which is alſo reduced to twelve pounds *per annum:* if, I ſay, theſe facts prove true, I ſhall not fail to take a proper time to ſet them in the beſt lights I am able.

A fifth, with gilt paper, neat wax, and under cover, dateth his remonſtrances, from the drawing-room; and in a courtly ſtyle, which I am not polite enough to imitate, ſetteth forth the viciſſitude of human things, the change of manners and faſhions; ſeemeth with pleaſure, yet regret, to call to memory an age, wherein poſſibly himſelf might flouriſh, in which the modes that now obtain, would not have been endured: in ſhort, he appeareth extremely ſhocked at the conduct of two *great ladies*, who took the liberty to behave themſelves in the Queen's preſence, before a full court, as if they had been at eaſe in their own *ruelles*, with none but inferior perſons about them. Reverence, diſtinction, decency, were made only for little people; theſe ladies are above the punctilio of laws and cuſtoms: their own charms, the merit of their anceſtors, their gratitude, greatneſs of ſoul, reſpect and duty to their ſovereign, may ſupport irregularity in their poſterity.

I hope, the *Medley* will allow theſe paſſages may have been extracted out of *real* letters; ſince I could as well have produced them for my own: be that as it will, I am glad he alloweth me to keep ſo good a correſpondence with myſelf. His cenſure, if it be true, amounteth to no more than this; that I am ſo far from being obliged to others for my matter, as to be forced to father my own upon thoſe who will pleaſe to accept it; wherein I differ as much from him, as one who ſtealeth money into his neighbour's pocket, doth from a rogue who picketh it out.

No 49. Thurſday, July 19. 1711.

Avaritia fidem, probitatem, cæteraſque bonas artes ſubvertit; pro iis ſuperbiam, crudelitatem, deos negligere, et omnia venalia habere, docuit.

I CONSIDER myſelf grown a very uſeleſs writer; but it was no more than I foreſaw, when I firſt began with the *Medley:* I knew my paper would inſenſibly dwindle into the thing himſelf and his party deſired; and my time be loſt in managing a diſpute fruitleſs to the town, and inſignificant even to ourſelves: he is reſolved not to be convinced, nor I to be perverted; he hath ſtill his prompters, and I my readers; we both are where we began; he will yet continue to animadvert falſly; and I deſign henceforward to take no more notice of what he writes, than men are uſed to do by notorious liars; who, if they ever happen to ſpeak truth, muſt bring other vouchers than themſelves, to gain that belief which their continued courſe of falſity hath juſtly robbed them of from the public.

I had perhaps cloſed my papers with this; and took leave until the meeting of the parliament; pleaſed to leave affairs in ſo quick and promiſing a condition, had I not met with a very ſcarce manuſcript out of a certain library: I believe the tranſlation of part of it will not be unacceptable to the town. The author is that famous Italian, Giovanni Adollrandi, who made his particular requeſt, that his works might never be printed: the manuſcript I ſpeak of is called, *Marcus Antonius*, wrote in the ſame ſort of verſe with the *Rinaldo of Taſſo*, whoſe ſenior he was: the paſſage I would tranſlate, is Fulvia's going to the houſe of Pride, to implore the ſuccour of the goddeſs towards ruining the virtue of Agrippa, the favourite of Auguſtus: there are ſo many parallel incidents in the deſcription, that I am tempted to believe our famous Spenſer had read this poem, when he gave the world his fourth canto of the firſt book of his *Fairy Queen.*

The author introduceth Dolabella telling the hiſtory

the triumvirate; Lepidus's removal, Antony's behaviour in the eaſt, and Octavius's government at Rome, when he had called Agrippa to aſſiſt him in the management of affairs; whoſe wiſdom and great abilities proved deſtructive to the hopes that Antony's friends had entertained of ſeeing him ſole arbitrator of the empire. Fulvia, the wife of Antony, is recorded by Plutarch to be a bold and enterprizing woman; our poet entereth very well into her character; where Dolabella relates, that he beheld in his journey a ſtupendous palace, with a broad high-way, made bare by the number of paſſengers who hourly travelled that way; few of whom ever returned, but ſuch whom poverty had reduced: the avenues were filled with beggars, who, although in rags and ruins, retained their former air and deportment: when they required your charity, it was ſtill with a vaunting introduction of what they had been.

Approaching nearer I ſaw, continued he, two buſy perſons, gaily habited, entertaining the croud that were in the broad road; theſe were Flattery and Folly; the firſt made herſelf acceptable by exceſs of compliance, and perpetual praiſes; for ſuch was her induſtry, that ſhe left not even *vice* without its applauſe; endearing to the wearers their very defects: Folly was no leſs aſſiduous in beſpeaking credit of her ſiſter, aſſuring her, that whatever was ſpoke by Flattery was indiſputable: in this delightful converſation, the travellers paſſed happily on to the *palace*, where they were met by Vanity, who with much applauſe and ceremony, which they took for reſpect, conducted them into the houſe of Pride.

This dazzling unweildy ſtructure was built amidſt the tears and groans of a people harraſſed with a lingering war, to gratify the ambition of a *ſubject*; while the *Sovereign's palace* lay in *aſhes*. It was dedicated, from the firſt foundation, to the goddeſs of Pride; the building exceſſive *coſtly*, but not *artful*; the *architect* ſeemed to conſider how to be moſt profuſe, and therefore neglected an advantageous eminence (made proper by nature) to build one a quarter of a mile ſhort of it, at the vain expence of fifty millions of ſeſterces. There were to be ſeen ſtately towers, noble porticoes, ample piazzas, and well-turned *pillars*, without one handſome room,

unleſs you will call the kitchen and cellars ſuch; which parts of the houſe happen to be of very little or no uſe to the *parſimonious* founder; a number of chambers, but none convenient; fine gardens without water; the whole building raiſed upon a ſandy foundation; every breath from court, every blaſt puffed away ſome grains of that huge fleeting hill, upon which this palace was erected.

Here the goddeſs kept her court, within an inner chamber, into which paſſengers were conducted: ſhe was ſeated upon a throne, raiſed under a *canopy* within an *alcove*; whoever gazed on her, ſeldom beheld any thing with approbation but themſelves; her beauty was mixed with diſdain, and well expreſſed her inward contempt for inferior objects; ſhe never fixed her eyes upwards, unleſs when by intervals they were caſt upon a *mirror* ſhe held in her hand, which reflected back her own charms, the only image wherein ſhe took delight.

My attention, as well as that of the whole aſſembly, was ſuddenly taken off from the goddeſs, and transferred to a lady, who with precipitation broke through the croud, and made directly to the throne: although paſſed her meridian, her bloom was ſucceeded by ſo graceful an air, that youth could ſcarce make her more deſirable: her fair hair was tucked under a *tiara* of jewels, made in the faſhion of a coronet. If her beauty prepoſſeſſed us to her advantage, we were not leſs terrified in beholding the company ſhe was in: on one ſide marched Envy, laſhing her with whips and *ſnakes*; giving her to drink by intervals from a cup of wine mingled with gall and wormwood: her other ſupporter was Wrath, who continually toſſed a flaming brand, directing her ſight to a dagger which he held; his looks ghaſtly, his limbs trembling, his body half-expoſed, the reſt cloathed with a robe ſtained with blood, and torn by his own fury, which was ſo fierce he could not reſtrain it ſometimes from falling upon himſelf. His breath was inceſſantly applied to the lady's ſpleen and brain, from whence violent agonies and raging frenzies ſucceeded, as was evident by a *toſs* and motion as particular as wonderful.

She was attired in a crimſon robe edged with ermin, and buckled with diamonds; her train borne by one who had

had formerly been her maſter of the ceremonies, and who, under the falſe title of *good eſtabliſhment*, had introduced her with applauſe into the world; yet, having made the fortune of his votary, he was no longer ſolicitous to preſerve appearances, but ſubmitted to be called by his true name Ingratitude.

The goddeſs not only vouchſafed her a gracious look, but gave her hand to the lady, who was named Fulvia; after a tender embrace, ſhe ſeated her by herſelf on the throne; called her conquereſs in right of her huſband; daughter, favourite, her repreſentative, her other ſelf; bid her name her diſtreſs, and depend upon her for relief.

Fulvia, with ſighs, told the goddeſs, that from a proſpect of being the moſt happy perſon, ſhe was become the moſt miſerable. The laurels daily fading upon the brow of her abſent Lord; their partizans wholly removed from Auguſtus's favour; and, which was worſe, Agrippa, a perſon of fatal virtue, deſtructive to the ambition of her party, was truſted with the ſole management of affairs, notwithſtanding their mighty cabals and hourly intrigues, to retrieve the power they had loſt. Agrippa's reputation was mounted to ſuch a pitch, that ſhe could not behold and live; thoſe two tormentors, Wrath and Envy, giving her no remiſſion, until he were deſtroyed. She therefore beſought the goddeſs, ſince falſe reports, treachery and aſſaſſinations had failed, that ſhe would go herſelf, and take Avarice along with titles and wealth, to puff up his ſoul, and deſtroy his virtues, that he might fall as herſelf and other favourites had done, by the ſin of pride, and the love of riches.

To whom the goddeſs replied: it is not the leaſt of my troubles that I muſt tell you, your requeſt is vain: I have attempted inlarging our empire, by the acceſſion of ſo powerful a perſon as Agrippa; I applied the charms of wealth and luxury; I applied myſelf; but he is more abſtemious, more ſedate than before: I beheld the hateful goddeſs of Virtue encircling him with her protecting wings; I heard her tell him, ſhe would direct his ſteps and never forſake him; that the empire ſhould flouriſh at its greateſt height under his adminiſtration; that Pride ſhould be defeated, Avarice return baffled and aſhamed; his hoards inviolable: that the uprightneſs of his man-

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ners, his extenſive ſoul and vaſt capacity, ſhould make his a name, which the race of favourites for time immemorial ſhould think it their glory to be called by: whereas hiſtory had not hitherto delivered down one, but where the parallel would be in ſome parts an injuſtice to his character; as if unbounded power and ſolid virtue had been irreconcileable, until met in Agrippa.

But, my beloved daughter, that virtue we cannot corrupt, may yet be eclipſed: we will cauſe diſtruſt and impatiency to enter into the minds of his party; they ſhall fear what they ought to reverence: thoſe prodigious qualifications that diſtinguiſh Agrippa, may be turned againſt him; whilſt his very foes admire his abilities, we will make his friends miſcall his wiſdom, *cunning*. Although he be inceſſantly working for the good of the empire, they ſhall be hoodwinked to thoſe advantages. Neither new ſeas explored, nor countries diſcovered and ſubdued; the heavy debts of the empire diſcharged, credit reſtored, peace brought home to their dwelling; trade ſecure and flouriſhing; ſhall overcome thoſe ſuſpicions and bad impreſſions we will make upon the people. Your *faction*, vigilant and bold, ſhall diſperſe falſe reports; Antony's zeal muſt languiſh; let him attempt no farther for the good of the empire, but his own: thoſe two demons that haunt you ſhall be appeaſed; Revenge be ſatiated; offer upon his altars, and ſupplicate the goddeſs of Diſcord, that ſhe may diſappear from among you, and more effectually poſſeſs your enemies.

N° 50. Thurſday, July 28. 1711.

Sed nos immenſum ſpatiis confecimus æquor,
Et jam tempus equûm fumantia ſolvere colla.

NOW that I have compleated the number of my papers, and, for the ſpace of a year, done my country what ſervice lay in the power of an honeſt, although concealed pen; I ſhall take my leave of the town, with particular thanks for its favour; and ſome acknowledgement to the *Medley*, for ſo conſtantly explaining what he thought

had formerly been her master of the ceremonies, and who, under the false title of *good establishment*, had introduced her with applause into the world; yet, having made the fortune of his votary, he was no longer solicitous to preserve appearances, but submitted to be called by his true name Ingratitude.

The goddess not only vouchsafed her a gracious look, but gave her hand to the lady, who was named Fulvia; after a tender embrace, she seated her by herself on the throne; called her conqueress in right of her husband; daughter, favourite, her representative, her other self; bid her name her distress, and depend upon her for relief.

Fulvia, with sighs, told the goddess, that from a prospect of being the most happy person, she was become the most miserable. The laurels daily fading upon the brow of her absent Lord; their partizans wholly removed from Augustus's favour; and, which was worse, Agrippa, a person of fatal virtue, destructive to the ambition of her party, was trusted with the sole management of affairs, notwithstanding their mighty cabals and hourly intrigues, to retrieve the power they had lost. Agrippa's reputation was mounted to such a pitch, that she could not behold and live; those two tormentors, Wrath and Envy, giving her no remission, until he were destroyed. She therefore besought the goddess, since false reports, treachery and assassinations had failed, that she would go herself, and take Avarice along with titles and wealth, to puff up his soul, and destroy his virtues, that he might fall as herself and other favourites had done, by the sin of pride, and the love of riches.

To whom the goddess replied: it is not the least of my troubles that I must tell you, your request is vain: I have attempted inlarging our empire, by the accession of so powerful a person as Agrippa; I applied the charms of wealth and luxury; I applied myself; but he is more abstemious, more sedate than before: I beheld the hateful goddess of Virtue encircling him with her protecting wings; I heard her tell him, she would direct his steps and never forsake him; that the empire should flourish at its greatest height under his administration; that Pride should be defeated, Avarice return baffled and ashamed; his hoards inviolable: that the uprightness of his man-

ners,

ners, his extenſive ſoul and vaſt capacity, ſhould make his a name, which the race of favourites for time immemorial ſhould think it their glory to be called by: whereas hiſtory had not hitherto delivered down one, but where the parallel would be in ſome parts an injuſtice to his character; as if unbounded power and ſolid virtue had been irreconcileable, until met in Agrippa.

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thought my meaning in any dark allusions or allegories; and retire myself from the fatigue of politics and state reflections, until some more urgent occasion again call forth my endeavours.

It is very difficult, in an interested world, for any one to be thought free from those views that influence others; there are so few persons content to sacrifice their own good to that of the public; that I do not wonder to have a wrong interpretation put upon my labours; and myself, although entirely otherwise, accused as directing them to some mercenary end; and full of the desire of making my fortune, by application to the prevailing party: but let such as are my accusers remember, that this paper was begun while yet the *late ministry* were at the helm, and nothing but their mismanagement to prognosticate their loss of power.

To those who have complained, that my writings were not always equal, the spirit the same, or the matter so entertaining; let such begin to consider, my business was to *instruct*; I would not descend to *divert*: I was neither a Plautus, nor a Moliere; I did not so much as pretend to *wit*, much less *buffoonry*: I went not in pursuit of a laugh, but confined myself to one subject, and that a very serious one. How extreme difficult it is to succeed often upon the like topic, I leave to the consideration of the judicious; who know how hard it is to vary the same discourse, and admit of frequent repetition, without being cloyed; with which I have no reason to tax my readers; since the printer telleth me, the sale of my paper is not at all diminished, or its reputation fallen: which, I must confess, were temptation enough for me to continue it, if I had mercenary views, or were not the end I proposed already answered, which maketh me chuse, although perhaps not quite so civilly, to rise myself, and leave my guests with an appetite for more, rather than stay till they should call to take away.

And, notwithstanding the charge that hath so often been brought against me, with an intent to wound *great men* through my side, of my being a contemptible hireling, and a little mercenary fellow without probity, or principles; one whose actions were directed by others, from whence the machine talked and moved, as conducted by higher

higher hands: I ſolemnly declare, I am ſtill as much unknown to the leaders of our own party, as to the others; and very likely to remain ſo, as long as I pleaſe myſelf; notwithſtanding the wiſe remarks of the *Obſervator*, and the gueſſes made by the judicious *Medley*.

Among the many pretenders in this town, you can hardly produce me one, who will not undertake to diſcover and point out the difference of ſtyle, and manner of thinking, peculiar to the ſeveral men of wit: this pamphlet is certainly from ſuch a hand; they know his manner perfectly: that paper of verſes is infallibly of ſuch a poet, no man in England could write it but he; and this ſometimes even upon the firſt eſſay of an author. I, among the reſt, uſed to determine formerly at the ſame rate, but ſhall be more cautious for the future; having ſeen the world and myſelf ſo often and ſo wretchedly miſtaken. How many fathers has this paper of mine been aſcribed to! Among all the men of wit, who are in the intereſt of the preſent miniſtry, I know not one who hath eſcaped ſome report or ſuſpicion of being the author. The *Medley* hath gueſſed round; and from his ſkill in that part of learning, called *dog's logic*, thought he would infallibly hit upon it at laſt. Thus he hath done what he would have us think is an injury to ſeveral innocent perſons; and if the *Examiner* be a ſtupid, falſe, and ſlanderous paper, as he weekly affirms; I think he is bound in conſcience and common juſtice, to repair the injury he hath done to the reputation of thoſe worthy perſons he hath falſly intitled it to; and who have never given him the leaſt provocation for any ſuch calumny.

The judicious reader cannot but obſerve how weak that cauſe muſt be, which the joint endeavours of their party have not been able to defend, againſt an unknown perſon, who hath had nothing but *naked truth* to oppoſe to whole armies of complicated falſhoods and malice: yet, ſupported by the goodneſs of the cauſe, I have waded through ſeas of ſcurrility, without being polluted by any of that filth they have inceſſantly caſt at me. I have neither miſrepreſented perſons nor things; nay, out of tenderneſs have often forborn to ſhew their weakeſt ſide. I appeal to all impartial men, whether time hath not *covered more* abuſes in the management of

niſtry, than the *Examiner* could expoſe? The facts are now ſo obvious and uncontroverted, that I preſume there is no need of a *monitor* to point out thoſe things, to which every man is become capable of directing himſelf.

Of all the doubtful ſteps that I have taken in the conduct of this deſign; there is none for which I ſo much blame myſelf, as firſt deſcending to take notice and talk to thoſe wretched adverſaries that have weekly fought againſt me; it was putting myſelf upon a level with ſuch, whoſe deſigns and mine were entirely oppoſite: I was fired by the love of my country, and that noble ardour which conducteth us through a thouſand difficulties in the purſuit of juſtice: my attempt was to *diſcover* abuſes, theirs to *conceal* them; I purſued truth, they openly adhered to falſhood; my pen was valued for its ſincerity, theirs deſpiſed for diſingenuity; and yet I was ſo weak to enter the liſts, merely to ſatisfy thoſe friends who became uneaſy at their not being oppoſed, and could not account for my neglect: a fault many have been guilty of, in conſideration of others, although againſt a man's better ſenſe and reaſoning; as I could inſtance in ſeveral things, and particularly in one example out of Plutarch; if the compariſon may not be thought too great a preſumption: it is that of Pompey the Great, who ventured a battle with Cæſar, when it was not his intereſt; *merely becauſe he was a man of that honour and modeſty, he could not bear a reproach; neither would he diſoblige his friends; but broke his own meaſures, and forſook his prudent reſolutions, to follow their vain hope and deſire.* How much more commendable was the conſtancy of Phocion, who, when the Athenians urged him at an unſeaſonable time to fall upon the enemy, peremptorily refuſed; and being upbraided by them with cowardice and puſillanimity, told them, *Gentlemen, we underſtand one another very well; you cannot make me valiant at this time, nor I you wiſe!*

But, it is time to have done with ſuch worthleſs combatants: if I have not foiled them, I am certain they have not hurt me, any otherwiſe than in my own opinion, for attempting to engage them. I ſhall conclude with obſerving the beauty of that proſpect which lieth before me, and for which I congratulate with all my country-

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men; the ſecurity to our religion and happy conſtitution, under our moſt pious Queen, her excellent parliament, and able miniſtry; which to ſpeak of, one by one, would be a volume, not a ſheet; methinks I behold the younger Cato in Mr. St. John †; all that love for his country, that contempt of danger, and greatneſs of ſoul, of whom it was ſaid, *It was not for honour or riches, nor raſhly, or by chance, that he engaged himſelf in the affairs of ſtate; but he undertook the ſervice of the public, as the proper buſineſs of an honeſt man; and therefore he thought himſelf obliged to be as diligent for the good of that, as a bee for the preſervation of her hive.*

By our well governed ſtrength at home, we are now beginning to be truly formidable to our enemies abroad: France was never ſo buſy in ſearching expedients that may incline towards a peace; they find it is become their intereſt to be ſincere; nothing but the unexpected death of the Emperor, and that diſtracted ſtate of northern affairs, which at this time threateneth a breach in the confederacy; and the ſeeds of which miſchief have been long ſown, could prevent our finding the ſpeedy effects of it. All but theſe who are wilfully blind, and bigotted to a party, plainly ſee the advantage of the change that hath been made; although conſidering the circumſtances of a tedious war, I am ſo far willing to comply with ſome gentlemen, as to admit there was a hazard in it, inaſmuch as a *civil war is worſe than any tyranny:* from whence I take leave to hope, we ſhall not eaſily repeat the danger; and ſince all changes are not good, let us change no more.

† Secretary of State, created Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke.

*** The *Examiners* were written in defence of the new adminiſtration, and the particular revolutions at court which had introduced the Earl of Oxford, and had diſplaced the Earl of Godolphin and his friends.

Many of Swift's *Examiners* are perſonally aimed at the General [the Duke of Marlborough.] In a free country the power of a general is always to be feared. The greater his military capacity, or the more ſucceſsful his arms, in the greater danger are the liberties of the people. On this maxim Swift pro-

proceeded; and while he was writing in defence of the commonwealth, he had an opportunity of giving a looſe to his own ſeverity; of which the *houſe of Pride* and ſeveral other allegorical eſſays, are very ſpirited examples.

But I am fettered in my animadverſions on theſe papers. The preſent times, and the honour which I bear to many noble families, deſcended from perſons mentioned in the *Examiners*, make me willing to take as ſlight notice as poſſible, even of the wittieſt paſſages in thoſe papers, becauſe many of thoſe paſſages ariſe from perſonal reflections, or party-ſarcaſms. In general, the ſeveral points relating to the national debt, (alas! how increaſed ſince the year 1710!) the too long continuance of the war, and other public topics of complaint, are melancholy truths, juſtly becoming the pen of a man who loves his country.

Within theſe laſt forty years, the political treatiſes have been ſo numerous, ſo various, ſo local, and ſo temporary, that each new pamphlet has ſucceeded its predeceſſor, like a youthful ſon to an ancient father, amidſt a multiplicity of followers, admirers, and dependents; whilſt the antiquated ſire having *ſtrutted and foamed his hour upon the ſtage, is heard no more*, but lies ſilent, and almoſt entirely forgotten, except by a few friends and cotemporaries, who accidentally remember ſome of his juſt obſervations, or prophetical aphoriſms, which they have lived to ſee accompliſhed. Thus has it fared, even in my time, with the *Examiners*, the *Free-holders*, and the *Craftſman*. And the ſame fate will attend moſt writings of that ſort; which being framed to ſerve particular views, fulfil the purport of their creation, and then periſh: while works of a more liberal and diffuſive kind are acceptable to all perſons, and all times; and many aſſume to themſelves a certain proſpect of ſurviving to the lateſt poſterity.

But when a young gentleman enters into the commerce of life, he will be obliged, in his own defence, to look into every thing that has been written upon political ſubjects. In England, a man cannot keep up a converſation without being well verſed in politics. In whatever other point of learning he may be deficient, he certainly muſt not appear ſuperficial in ſtate-affairs. He muſt chuſe his party; and he muſt ſtick to the choice. *Non revocare gradum*, muſt be his motto; and Heaven forgive ſuch an one, if the *gradus* now and then inforces him to act againſt ſelf-conviction.

If party, and the conſequences of it, had ariſen to that height among the Romans and Grecians, as it has ariſen of late years among the Engliſh, their poets would probably have added *her* to the three furies, and would have placed her in hell, as a fit companion for Tyſiphone, Megara, and Alecto; from whence, according to their deſcription, ſhe might have made excurſions upon earth, only with an intention to deſtroy, confound, miſlead, and diſunite mankind.

It is true, that all countries have their parties and their factions. But there is a certain contagious distemper of this sort, so peculiar to the British islands, that, I believe, it is unknown to every other part of the world. It increases our natural gloom, and it makes us so averse to each other, that it keeps men of the best morals, and most social inclinations, in one continual state of warfare and opposition. Must not the source of this malady arise rather from the heart, than from the head? from the different operations of our passions, than of our reason?

Furorne cæcus, an rapit vis acrior,
An culpa?

Swift, a man of violent passions, was, in consequence of those passions, violent in his party. But as his capacity and genius were so extraordinary and extensive, even his party-writings carry with them dignity and instruction. And in that light one should read the *Examiners*, where he will find a nervous style, a clear diction, and great knowledge of the true landed interest of England. *Orrery.*

The house of Pride in the Examiner, N° 49. was not the production of Dr. Swift; but was one of the visions of Mrs. Manley, who wrote the *Atalantis*. Swift.

The last *six Examiners* were not wrote by Dr. Swift, as appears from the notes at N° 19. But as they had got a place in all former editions of the Dean's works, Hawkesworth's excepted, we were advised to retain them in the present edition.

Some ADVICE humbly offered to the Members of the OCTOBER CLUB.

In a Letter from a Perſon of Honour.

Written in the year 1711.

The PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.

ABOUT the year, when her late Majeſty of bleſſed memory thought proper to change her miniſtry, and brought in Mr. Harley, Mr. St. John, Sir Simon Harcourt, and ſome others; the firſt of theſe being made an Earl and Lord Treaſurer, he was ſoon after blamed by his friends for not making a general ſweep of all the *whigs*, as the latter did of their adverſaries upon her Majeſty's death, when they came into power. At that time a great number of parliament men, amounting to above two hundred, grew ſo warm upon the ſlowneſs of the Treaſurer in this part, that they formed themſelves into a body under the name of the *October Club*, and had many meetings to conſult upon ſome methods, that might ſpur on thoſe in power, ſo that they might make a quicker diſpatch in removing all of the *whig* leaven from the employments they ſtill poſſeſſed. To prevent the ill conſequences of this diſcontent among ſo many worthy members, the reſt of the miniſtry joined with the Treaſurer partly to pacify, and partly to divide thoſe, who were in greater haſte than moderate men thought convenient. It was well known, that the ſuppoſed author met a conſiderable number of this club in a public-houſe, where he convinced them very plainly of the Treaſurer's ſincerity with many of thoſe very reaſons, which are urged in the following diſcourſe, beſides ſome others, which were not ſo proper to appear at that time in print.

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THE Treasurer alledged in his defence, that such a treatment would not consist with prudence, because there were many employments to be bestowed, which required skill and practice; that several gentlemen, who possessed them, had been long versed, very loyal to her Majesty, had never been violent party men, and were ready to fall into all honest measures for the service of their Queen and country. But however, as offices became vacant, he would humbly recommend to her Majesty such gentlemen, whose principles with regard both to church and state his friends would approve of, and he would be ready to accept their recommendations. Thus the Earl proceeded in procuring employments for those, who deserved them by their honesty and abilities to execute them; which I confess to have been a singularity not very likely to be imitated. However, the gentlemen of this club still continued uneasy that no quicker progress was made in removals, until those who were least violent began to soften a little, or by dividing them the whole affair dropped. During this difficulty, we have been assured, that the following discourse was very seasonably published with great success, shewing the difficulties that the Earl of Oxford lay under, and his real desire, that all persons in employment should be truly loyal churchmen, zealous for her Majesty's honour and safety, as well as for the succession in the house of Hanover, if the Queen should happen to die without issue. This discourse having been published about the year 1711, and many of the facts forgotten, would not have been generally understood without some explanation, which we have now endeavoured to give, because it seems a point of history too material to be lost. We owe this piece of intelligence to an intimate of the supposed author.

Some ADVICE humbly offered to the Members of the OCTOBER CLUB *.

GENTLEMEN,

SINCE the first institution of your society, I have always thought you capable of the greatest things. Such a number of persons, members of parliament, true lovers of our constitution in church and state, meeting at certain times, and mixing business and conversation together, without the forms and constraint necessary to be observed in public assemblies, must very much improve each others understanding, correct and fix your judg-

* This pamphlet was written in the year 1711, and is so applicable to that particular time, that I shall not make any animadversions upon it. From political tracts, the true history of England is to be deduced: and if foreigners were to enter into that branch of reading, they might frame a more distinct notion of our legislature, and of our manners, than from more laboured and connected accounts of our constitution. In such a view, I am apt to think, that at first sight, they must behold us a disunited, discontented, and seemingly an unsteady people. But I am certain, that, upon a more minute disquisition, they must find in us a fixed, and, I may say, an innate love of liberty, variegated, and perhaps sometimes erroneous in its progress, but constant and unwearied in the pursuit of that glorious end. What people upon earth can desire a more exalted, or a more distinguished character? To speak in the dialect of the heathen world, our errors are the errors of men, our principles are the principles of gods. *Orrery.*

Perhaps that clear, impartial account of the indigested schemes of the October club, as it fell accidentally from the pen of Dr. Swift, may throw some additional light upon the history of that aera, which, it must be confessed, is very greatly wanted; and at the same time be a caution to all worthy and sober men, who principally intend the good of their country, in all their

judgment, and prepare yourselves against any designs of the opposite party. Upon the opening of this session an incident hath happened, to provide against the consequences whereof will require your utmost vigilance and application. All this last summer the enemy was working under ground, and laying their train; they gradually became more frequent and bold in their pamphlets and papers, while those on our side were dropped, as if we had no farther occasion for them. Some time before an opportunity fell into their hands, which they have cultivated ever since; and thereby have endeavoured in some sort to turn those arts against us, which had been so effectually employed to their ruin: a plain demonstration of their superior skill at intrigue; to make a stratagem suc-

reasonings and debates, not violently to oppose and distress any ministry whatsoever, who desire to act with temper and moderation upon constitutional principles. His account of them runs in these terms. "We are plagued with an October club, "that is, a set of above an hundred parliament men of the coun-"try, who drink October beer at home, and meet every even-"ing at a tavern near the parliament, to consult affairs, and "drive things on to extremes against the Whigs; to call the old "ministry to account, and get off five or six heads. The mi-"nistry seem not to regard them: yet one of them in confidence "told me, that there must be something thought on to settle "things better. I'll tell you one great state-secret. The Queen, "sensible how much she was governed by the late ministry, runs "a little into the other extreme; and is jealous in that point "even of those who got her out of the other's hands. The mi-"nistry is for gentler measures, and the other Tories for more "violent. Lord Rivers talking to me the other day, cursed the "paper called the *Examiner* for speaking ruffly of the Duke of "Marlborough. This I happened to talk of to the secretary, "who blamed the warmth of that Lord and some others, and "swore, that if their advice were followed, they would be down "up in twenty-four hours. And I have reason to think that "they will endeavour to prevail on the Queen, to put her af-"fairs more in the hands of a ministry than she does at present; "and there are, I believe, two men thought on; one of them "you have often met the name of in my letters." *Swift's letter to Stella, Feb. 18. 1710.* Swift.

ſucceed a ſecond time, and this even againſt thoſe who firſt tried it upon them. I know not whether this opportunity I have mentioned could have been prevented by any care without ſtraining a very *tender point*, which thoſe chiefly concerned avoided by all means, becauſe it might ſeem a counterpart of what they had ſo much condemned in their predeceſſors; although it is certain the two caſes were widely different; and if policy had once got the better of good nature, all had been ſafe, for there was no other danger in view: but the conſequences of this were foreſeen from the beginning; and thoſe who *kept the watch* had early warning of it. It would have been a maſter-piece of prudence in this caſe to have made a *friend* of an *enemy*. But whether that were poſſible to be compaſſed, or whether it were ever attempted, is now too late to enquire. All accommodation was rendered deſperate by an unlucky proceeding ſome months ago at Windſor, which was a declaration of war too frank and generous for that ſituation of affairs; and I am told, was not approved by a certain great miniſter. It was obvious to ſuppoſe, that in a particular, where the honour and intereſt of a *husband* were ſo cloſely united with thoſe of a *wife*, he might be ſure of her utmoſt endeavours for his protection, although ſhe neither loved nor eſteemed him. The danger of loſing power, favour, profit, and a ſhelter from *domeſtic tyranny*, were ſtrong incitements to ſtir up a working brain *early* practiſed in all the arts of intriguing. Neither is it ſafe to count upon the weakneſs of any man's underſtanding, who is thoroughly poſſeſſed with the ſpirit of revenge to ſharpen his invention: nothing elſe is required beſides *obſequiouſneſs* and *aſſiduity*; which, as they are often the talents of thoſe who have no better, ſo they are apt to make impreſſions upon the *beſt* and *greateſt minds*.

It was no ſmall advantage to the *deſigning party*, that ſince the adventure at Windſor the *perſon on whom we ſo much depend* was long abſent by ſickneſs; which hindered him from purſuing thoſe meaſures. that miniſters are in prudence forced to take to defend their country and themſelves againſt an irritated faction. The *negociators* on the other ſide improved this favourable conjuncture to the utmoſt; and by an unparallelled boldneſs, accompa-

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nied with many falſhoods, perſuaded certain lords (who were already in the ſame principle, but were afraid of making a wrong ſtep, leſt it ſhould *lead them out of their coaches into the dirt*) that voting in appearance againſt the court would be the ſafeſt courſe to avoid the danger they moſt apprehended, which was that of loſing their penſions; and their opinions, when produced, would by ſeemingly contradicting their intereſt have an appearance of virtue into the bargain. This, with ſome arguments of more *immediate power*, went far in producing that ſtrange unexpected turn we have ſo lately ſeen, and from which our adverſaries reckoned upon ſuch wonderful effects; and ſome of them, particularly my Lord Chief Juſtice, began to act as if all were already in their power.

But although the more immediate cauſes of this deſertion were what I have above related, yet I am apt to think, it would hardly have been attempted, or at leaſt not ſucceeded, but for a prevailing opinion, that the church party and the miniſters had different views, or at leaſt were not ſo firmly united as they ought to have been. It was commonly ſaid, and I ſuppoſe not without ſome ground of truth, that many gentlemen of your club were diſcontented to find ſo *little done*; that they thought it looked as if people were *not in earneſt*; that they expected to ſee a *thorough change* with reſpect to employments; and although every man could not be provided for, yet when all places were filled with perſons of good principles, there would be fewer complaints and leſs danger from the other party; that this change was hoped for all laſt ſummer, and even to the opening of the ſeſſion, yet nothing done. On the other hand, it was urged by ſome in favour of the miniſtry, that it was impoſſible to find employments for one *pretender* in twenty; and therefore in gratifying one nineteen would be diſobliged; but while all had leave to hope, they would all endeavour to deſerve: but this again was eſteemed a very ſhallow policy, which was too eaſily ſeen through, muſt ſoon come to an end, and would cauſe a general diſcontent; with twenty other objections to which it was liable: and indeed, conſidering the ſhort life of miniſters in our climate, it was with ſome reaſon thought a little hard, that

thoſe for whom any employment was intended, ſhould by ſuch a delay be probably deprived of half their benefit; not to mention, that a miniſtry is beſt confirmed, when all inferior officers are in its intereſt.

I have ſet this cauſe of complaint in the ſtrongeſt light, although my deſign is to endeavour that it ſhould have no manner of weight with you, as I am confident our adverſaries counted upon, and do ſtill expect to find mighty advantages by it.

But it is neceſſary to ſay ſomething to this objection, which in all appearance lieth ſo hard upon the preſent miniſtry. What ſhall I offer upon ſo tender a point? How ſhall I convey an anſwer that none will apprehend, except thoſe for whom I intend it? I have often pitied the condition of great miniſters upon ſeveral accounts; but never ſo much upon any as when their duty obliges them to bear the blame and envy of actions, for which they will not be anſwerable in the next world, although they dare not convince the preſent, till it is too late. This letter is ſent you, *gentlemen*, from no mean hand, nor from a perſon uninformed, although for the reſt as little concerned in point of intereſt for any change of miniſtry, as moſt others of his fellow-ſubjects. I may therefore aſſume ſo much to myſelf, as to deſire you would depend upon it, that a ſhort time will make manifeſt, how little the defect you complain of ought to lie at *that door*, where your enemies would be glad to ſee you place it. The wiſeſt man, who is not very near the ſpring of affairs, but views them only in their iſſues and events, will be apt to fix applauſes and reproaches in the wrong place; which is the true cauſe of a weakneſs, that I never yet knew great miniſters without; I mean their being deaf to all advice: for if a perſon of the beſt underſtanding offers his opinion in a point, where he is not maſter of all the circumſtances, (which perhaps are not to be told) it is an hundred to one but he runs into an abſurdity: from whence it is, that miniſters falſly conclude themſelves to be equally wiſer than others in general things, where the common reaſon of mankind ought to be the judge, and is probably leſs biaſſed than theirs. I have known a great man of excellent parts blindly purſue a point of no importance, againſt the advice of every friend

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he had, until it ended in his ruin. I have ſeen great abilities rendered utterly uſeleſs by unaccountable and unneceſſary delay, and by difficulty of acceſs, by which a thouſand opportunities are ſuffered to eſcape. I have obſerved the *ſtrongeſt ſhoulders* to ſink under too great a load of buſineſs, for want of dividing a due proportion among others. Theſe and more that might be named, are obvious failings, which every rational man may be allowed to diſcern, as well as lament; and wherein the wiſeſt miniſter may receive advice from others of inferior underſtanding. But in thoſe actions where we are not thoroughly informed of all the motives and circumſtances, it is hardly poſſible, that our judgment ſhould not be miſtaken. I have often been one of the company, where we have all blamed a meaſure taken, which hath afterwards proved the only one that could poſſibly have ſucceeded. Nay, I have known thoſe very men, who have formerly been in the ſecret of affairs, when a new ſett of people hath come in, offering their refinements and conjectures in a very plauſible manner upon what was paſſing, and widely err in all they advanced.

WHATEVER occaſions may have been given for complaints, that *enough hath not been done*, thoſe complaints ſhould not be carried ſo far as to make us *forget what hath been done*, which at firſt was a great deal more than we hoped, or thought practicable; and you may be aſſured, that ſo much courage and addreſs were not employed in the beginning of ſo great a work without a reſolution of carrying it through, as faſt as opportunities would offer. Any of the moſt ſanguine gentlemen in your club would gladly have compounded two years ago to have been aſſured of ſeeing affairs in the preſent ſituation: it is principally to the abilities of *one great man*, that you, *gentlemen*, owe the happineſs of meeting together to cultivate good principles, and form yourſelves into a body for defending your country againſt a reſtleſs and dangerous faction. It is to the *fame* we all owe that mighty change in the moſt important poſts of the kingdom; that we ſee the ſacred perſon of our Prince encompaſſed by thoſe, whom we ourſelves would have choſen, if it had been left to our power: and if every thing *beſides that* you could wiſh hath not been hitherto done,

you

you will be but juſt to impute it to ſome powerful although *unknown impediments*, wherein the miniſtry is more to be lamented than blamed. But there is good reaſon to hope from the vigorous proceedings of the court, that theſe *impediments* will in a ſhort time effectually be removed: and one great motive to haſten the removal of them will doubtleſs be the reflection upon thoſe dangerous conſequences, which had like to have enſued upon not removing them before. Beſides, after ſo plain and formidable a conviction that mild and moderate methods meet with no other reception or return, than to ſerve as opportunities to the inſatiable malice of an enemy; power will awake to vindicate itſelf, and diſarm its oppoſers, at leaſt of all *offenſive weapons*.

CONSIDER if you pleaſe, how hard beſet the preſent miniſtry hath been on every ſide: by the impoſſibility of carrying on the war any longer without taking the moſt deſperate courſes; or of recovering Spain from the houſe of Bourbon, although we could continue it many years longer: by the clamours of a faction againſt any peace without that condition, which the moſt knowing among themſelves allowed to be impracticable; by the ſecret cabals of foreign miniſters, who have endeavoured to inflame our people, and ſpirit up a ſinking faction to blaſt all our endeavours for peace with thoſe popular reproaches of France and the Pretender; not to mention the danger they have been in from private *inſinuations of ſuch a nature* as it was almoſt impoſſible to fence againſt. Theſe clouds now begin to blow over, and thoſe who *are at the helm* will have leiſure to look about them, and complete what yet remains to be done.

That confederate body, which now makes up the adverſe party, conſiſteth of an union ſo monſtrous and unnatural, that in a little time it muſt of neceſſity fall to pieces The *diſſenters* with reaſon think themſelves betrayed and ſold by their *brethren*. What they have been told, that the preſent *bill* againſt *occaſional conformity* was to prevent a greater evil, is an excuſe too groſs to paſs; and if any other profound refinement were meant, it is now come to nothing. The remaining ſections of the party have no other tie, but that of an inveterate hatred and rancour againſt thoſe in power, without

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agreeing in any other common intereſt, not cemented by principle or perſonal friendſhip: I ſpeak particularly of their leaders; and altho' I know that court enmities are as inconſtant as its friendſhips, yet from the difference of tempers and principle, as well as the ſcars remaining of former animoſities, I am perſuaded their league will not be of long continuance: I know ſeveral of them, who will never pardon thoſe with whom they are now in confederacy; and when once they ſee the preſent miniſtry thoroughly fixed, they will grow weary of *hunting upon a cold ſcent*, or playing a *deſperate game*, and crumble away.

On the other ſide while the malice of that party continues in vigour, while they yet feel the bruiſes of their fall, which pain them afreſh ſince their late diſappointment, they will leave no arts untried to recover themſelves; and it behoves all, who have any regard for the ſafety of the Queen or her kingdom, to join unanimouſly againſt an adverſary, who will return full fraught with vengeance upon the firſt opportunity that ſhall offer: and this perhaps is more to be regarded, becauſe that party ſeem yet to have a reſerve of hope in the *ſame quarter from whence their laſt reinforcement came*. Neither can any thing cultivate this hope of theirs ſo much as a diſagreement among ourſelves founded upon a jealouſy of the miniſtry, who I think need no better a teſtimony of their good intentions, than the inceſſant *rage* of the *party-leaders* againſt them.

There is one fault which both ſides are apt to charge upon themſelves, and very generouſly commend their adverſaries for the contrary virtue. The *tories* acknowledge, that the *whigs* out did them in rewarding their friends, and adhering to each other: the *whigs* allow the ſame to the *tories*. I am apt to think, that the former may a little excel the latter in this point; for doubtleſs the *tories* are leſs vindictive of the two; and whoever is remiſs in *punishing*, will probably be ſo in *rewarding*; altho' at the ſame time I well remember the clamours often raiſed during the reign of that party againſt the leaders, by thoſe who thought their merits were not rewarded; and they had reaſon on their ſide, becauſe it is no doubt a misfortune to forfeit honour and conſcience for *nothing*: but ſurely the caſe is very different at this time

time, when whoever adheres to the adminiſtration, doth ſervice to GOD, his Prince, and his country, as well as contributes to his own private intereſt and ſafety.

BUT if the *whig* leaders were more grateful in rewarding their friends, it muſt be avowed likewiſe, that the bulk of them was in general more zealous for the ſervice of their party, even when abſtracted from any private advantage, as might be obſerved in a thouſand inſtances; for which I would likewiſe commend them, if it were not natural for mankind to be more *violent in an ill cauſe* than a good one.

THE perpetual diſcord of factions, with ſeveral changes of late years in the very nature of our government, have controlled many maxims among us. The *court* and *country-party*, which uſed to be the old diviſion, ſeems now to be ceaſed, or ſuſpended for *better times* and *worſe princes*. The Queen and miniſtry are at this time fully in the true intereſt of the kingdom; and therefore the *court* and *country* are of a ſide; and the *whigs*, who originally were of the latter, are now of neither, but an independent faction, nurſed up by the *neceſſities* or *miſtakes* of a late *good, altho' unexperienced Prince*. *Court* and *country* ought therefore to join their forces againſt theſe common enemies, until they are entirely diſperſed and diſabled. It is enough to arm ourſelves againſt them, when we conſider that the greateſt misfortunes which can befal the nation, are what would moſt anſwer their *intereſt* and their *wiſhes*; a perpetual war increaſes their money, breaks and beggars their *landed enemies*. The ruin of the church will pleaſe the *diſſenters*, *deiſts*, and *Socinians*, whereof the body of their party conſiſts. A *commonwealth*, or a *protector*, would gratify the *republican principles* of ſome, and the ambition of others among them.

I would infer from hence, that no diſcontents of an inferior nature, ſuch I mean as I have already mentioned, ſhould be carried ſo far as to give any ill impreſſion of the preſent miniſtry. If all things have not been hitherto done as you, *gentlemen*, could reaſonably wiſh, it can be imputed only to the ſecret inſtruments of that faction. The truth of this hath appeared from ſome late incidents more viſibly than formerly. Neither do I believe that

any

any one will now make a doubt, whether a *certain person* be in *earnest*, after the united and avowed endeavours of a whole party to strike directly at his head.

WHEN it happens, by some private cross intrigues, that a great man hath not the power which is thought due to his station, he will however probably desire the reputation of it, without which he neither can preserve the dignity, nor hardly go thro' the common business of his place; yet is it that reputation to which he owes all the envy and hatred of others, as well as his own disquiets. Mean time his expecting friends impute all their disappointments to some deep design, or to his defect of good will; and his enemies are sure to cry up his excess of power, especially in those points where they are confident it is most shortened. A minister in this difficult case is sometimes forced to preserve his credit by forbearing what *is* in his power, for fear of discovering how far the limits extend of what is *not*; or perhaps for fear of shewing an inclination contrary to that of his master. Yet all this while he lies under the reproach of *delay*, *unskilfulness*, or *want of sincerity*. So that there are many inconveniences and dangers either in discovering or concealing the want of power. Neither is it hard to conceive, that ministers may happen to suffer for the *sins of their predecessors*, who by their great abuses and monopolies of power and favour have taught princes to be more thrifty for the future in the distribution of both. And as in common life, whoever hath been long confined is very fond of his liberty, and will not easily endure the very appearance of restraint, even from those who have been the instruments of setting him free; so it is with the recovery of power, which is usually attended with an undistinguished jealousy, lest it should be again invaded. In such a juncture I cannot discover, why a wise and honest man should venture to place himself at the head of affairs upon any other regard than the safety of his country, and the advice of Socrates, to *prevent an ill man from coming in*.

UPON the whole, I do not see any one ground of suspicion or dislike, which you, *gentlemen*, or others, who *wish well to* their country, may have entertained about *persons or proceedings*, but what may probably be misapprehended

prehended even by thoſe, who think they have the beſt information. Nay, I will venture to go one ſtep farther, by adding, that altho' it may not be prudent to ſpeak out upon this occaſion; yet whoever will reaſon impartially upon the whole ſtate of affairs, muſt entirely acquit the miniſtry of that delay and neutrality, which have been laid to their charge. Or ſuppoſe ſome ſmall part of this accuſation were true (which I poſitively know to be otherwiſe, whereof the world will ſoon be convinced) yet the conſequences of any reſentment at this time muſt either be none at all, or the moſt fatal that can be imagined; for if the preſent miniſtry be made ſo uneaſy, that a change be thought neceſſary, things will return of courſe into the old hands of thoſe, whoſe *little fingers will be found heavier than their predeceſſors loins*. The *whig faction* is ſo dextrous at corrupting, and the people ſo ſuſceptible of it, that you cannot be ignorant how eaſy it will be after ſuch a turn of affairs upon a new election to procure a majority againſt you. They will reſume their power with a ſpirit like that of Marius or Sylla, or the laſt triumvirate; and thoſe miniſters, who have been moſt cenſured for too much heſitation, will fall the firſt ſacrifices to their vengeance; but theſe are the ſmalleſt miſchiefs to be apprehended from ſuch returning exiles. What ſecurity can a prince hope for his perſon, or his crown, or even for the monarchy itſelf? He muſt expect to ſee his beſt friends brought to the ſcaffold for *aſſerting his rights*; to ſee his *prerogative* trampled on, and his *treaſure* applied to *feed the avarice of thoſe, who make themſelves his keepers*; to hear himſelf treated with inſolence and contempt; to have his *family purged at pleaſure* by their humour and malice; and to retain even the name and ſhadow of a King no longer than his Ephori ſhall think fit.

THESE are the inevitable conſequences of ſuch a change of affairs, as that envenomed party is now projecting; which will beſt be prevented by your firmly adhering to the preſent miniſtry, until this *domeſtic enemy* is out of all poſſibility of making head any more.

The End of the FIFTH VOLUME.

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